A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN

OTIS CARY

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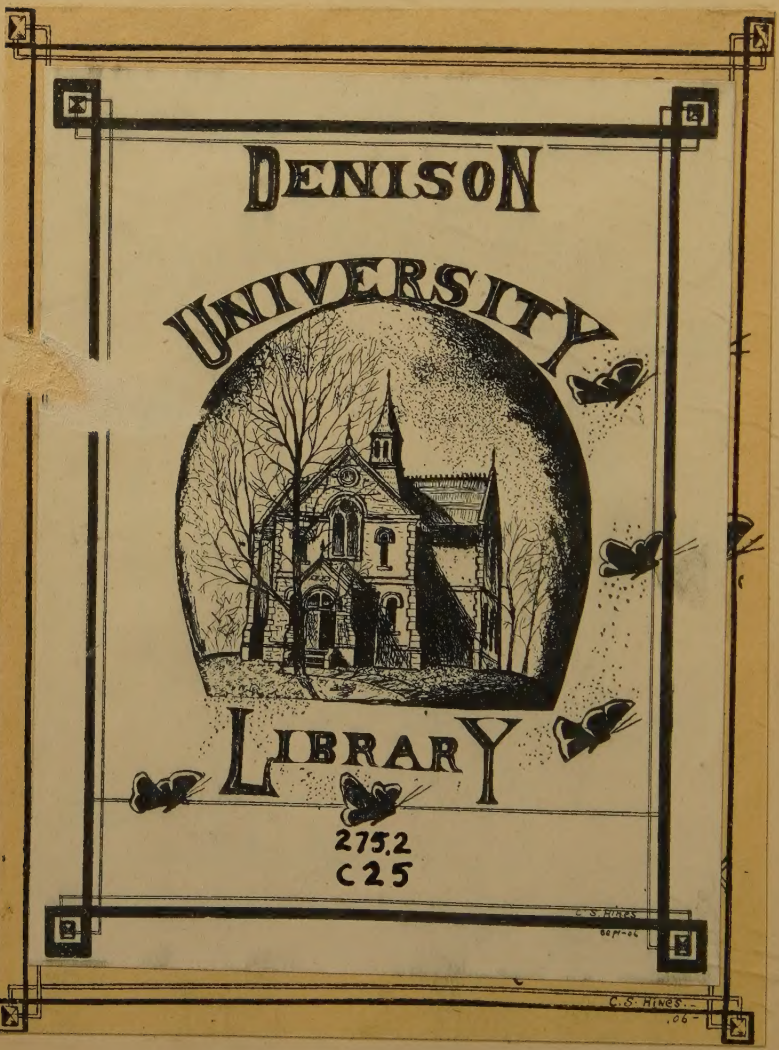
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A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN

A History of Christianity in Japan

Protestant Missions

BY

OTIS CARY, D.D.

For Thirty Years Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M.

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PREFACE

THIS book with a companion volume that treats of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox missions is an attempt to describe the chief events connected with the history of Christianity in Japan. It labours under the disadvantage of dealing with occurrences so close at hand that it is difficult to see them in their right perspective and so to judge of their comparative importance. It is, however, easier now than it will ever be again to gather materials such as are needed for the earlier chapters of such a book, and the completion of the first half-century of organised Protestant missions in Japan presents a suitable occasion for looking back upon what has happened within that period.

I have confined myself for the most part to the simple narrative of events, indulging in but little comment and in no philosophising upon them. Let him who reads draw his own lessons from the story.

The narrative centres about the work of the missionaries and does not describe with any degree of completeness what has been done by the Japanese Christians. I wish that it were otherwise: for, after the first foundations had been laid, the upbuilding of the Christian Church has been chiefly accomplished through the earnest efforts of the Japanese workers. To a considerable extent, however, their labours have been of that plodding, uneventful nature that does not furnish much striking material for a book of this kind. Moreover, such material as could be utilised is difficult to collect. Foreign missionary societies publish the correspondence of their representatives, and this naturally deals chiefly with events that have a direct connection with the missionaries themselves; but an exhaustive search through Japanese religious periodicals and a careful working

over of what might there be found is needed for an adequate account of what has been done by pastors, evangelists, and other Christian workers—a task that must be left for some Japanese writer of the future who shall narrate the history of Christianity in his own country more completely than it is possible for an alien to do.

To Japanese readers it will doubtless seem that in passages dealing with the unfortunate misunderstandings that have occasionally arisen between missionaries and the Japanese Christians I have shown partiality for the former. It could hardly be otherwise; for, if I write as things appear to me, the result cannot fail to be coloured by my prejudices. I believe that my Japanese friends would prefer, all things considered, to have me write frankly my own views upon these matters, while trying at the same time to state theirs with fairness. Some incidents that I would gladly have passed over unnoticed were so connected with the general course of events that this could not be honestly done. These matters, though forming an integral part of the history, are after all but a small part thereof; and, while our opinions concerning them may differ, it is hoped that we can be charitable to each other, allowing each to hold and express his own views upon them.

The different missions are disproportionately treated. Doubtless that of the American Board occupies an undue amount of space. As a member of that mission I know more of its history and have had better opportunities for inquiry than is the case with others. Moreover, circumstances caused this mission and the churches that grew up in connection with its work to have a prominent place in some of the movements that greatly affected the history with which we have to deal. I have tried, however, to write impartially of the different bodies working in Japan, and have only once or twice ventured upon any criticisms.

Most of the materials for this book have been drawn from the magazines and reports published by missionary societies, from Japanese papers, the "Japan Evangelist," the historical sketches contained in the reports of the

General Missionary Conferences, Ritter's "History of Protestant Missions in Japan," and, for events in the present century, from the annual issues of "The Christian Movement in Japan," published under the auspices of the Standing Committee of Coöperating Missions. Like nearly all writers upon Japanese subjects, I have made great use of "The Japan Mail," an English newspaper published in Yokohama. Its translations from Japanese papers have been of special value.

Doubtless some errors will be discovered by those conversant with the events narrated. It is astonishing how hard it is to find the exact truth about even recent affairs. Errors of one writer are copied by another and perhaps come to be so generally accepted that he who narrates what actually happened is thought to make a mistake. I have spent considerable time in trying to learn the truth upon points where doubts concerning the current story were aroused; but it may be that while trying to strain out some little gnat of error I have allowed heavily-laden camels to slip through unnoticed. Future historians will join with me in being thankful to those who will lasso and throttle these beasts, and also to those who will help to exterminate the annoying little gnats.

Those acquainted with the Japanese language may criticise my way of writing some words. I have omitted the marks that designate long vowels because they are somewhat misleading to the general reader and because it is difficult to secure such accurate proof-reading as would ensure against mistakes Again, though Japanese nouns have usually no distinction of number, it has seemed best for the sake of clearness to use such plurals as *daimyos,* etc.

A considerable portion of what is found in this book was used in the Hyde Lectures on Foreign Missions, given at Andover Theological Seminary in December, 1909.

My hope and prayer is that this volume will help to increase the interest of the Christian world in the evangelisation of Japan, and not of Japan only, but of other lands, for in them, too, the fields are already white unto

harvest and the time has come for the Church of Christ to reap the results of the labours of those that bore the heat and burden of the day when the hard ground had to be broken up and the seed sown in soil that seemed little fitted for its reception.

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I

WAITING BEFORE THE CLOSED GATES

AT the middle of the nineteenth century Japan was a hermit nation. Three hundred years had passed since it had first been visited by Europeans. Almost immediately after merchants found their way thither, Roman Catholic missionaries began those labours that at one time seemed likely to result in the speedy winning of Japan to their Church. Then came an era of bitter opposition that resulted in the apparent extirpation of Christianity. All Europeans were driven from the land except as the Dutch merchants were allowed to have a trading post on the tiny island of Deshima, which thus became the one point of contact between Japan and the West.

Opposition to the missionaries and their teaching was not the only reason that led Japan to adopt the policy of isolation. That opposition itself did not come chiefly from religious considerations but from a belief that the missionaries had been sent out by their sovereign to win the hearts of a portion of the Japanese people in order to facilitate the future conquest of the country. Spanish and Portuguese merchants had done not a little to make Europeans unpopular. They, too, were suspected of having a part in the schemes of their king. Some of them had by their immoral conduct shocked a people whose own standards were none too high. Notwithstanding the protests of the missionaries against the slave trade, the merchants had carried away many Japanese into servitude, and reports were current of terrible cruelties that

were suffered by these unfortunate men. Though the guilt of this traffic was shared by daimyos and others who delivered into the hands of the traders criminals and captives taken in war, this did not prevent it from being an additional reason for the dislike that was felt for Europeans. Various incidents had fostered unfriendly feelings between the Japanese and the merchants of Manila and Macao. In one noteworthy case the former, in revenge for what they considered unjust treatment received at Macao, attempted to capture a vessel that had come from that port to Nagasaki, and would probably have succeeded had not the Portuguese captain, after bravely defending himself for three days, set fire to the powder magazine, thus destroying the ship with its crew, passengers, and cargo.

Whatever may have been the parts of merchants and missionaries in causing Japan to drive them forth and close the gates behind them, the commercial and religious interests of the West were earnestly hoping that in some way those gates might be unlocked so that there might again be free access to the land. Though Protestants had not the same reasons as Roman Catholics for regarding Japan with special interest, it was not long after the attention of English and American Christians had been aroused to the claims of foreign missions that some were led to make that country an object of their prayers, contributions, and efforts. The missionaries in China had hopes that they might be able to help Japan either in person or by their books. Doubtless some of their publications were carried to that land, and they could be read there by the best educated people. In 1818, when Captain Gordon of the brig *Brothers* went to the Bay of Yedo hoping to get permission for trade, large numbers of visitors came to his vessel, and he mentions giving them two Testaments besides some religious tracts printed in Chinese.* Dr. Medhurst, the well-known missionary, found means to make some study of the Japanese language, and in 1828 he asked the Dutch for permission to go on their ship to Nagasaki. This request was refused.†

* *Asiatic Journal*, 1819, p. 338.

† *Ib.*, April, 1829. Dr. Medhurst published a Japanese-Eng-

The *Missionary Herald,* the organ of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in its issue for March, 1828, acknowledges the receipt of $27.87 as received from Brookline, Mass., "for mission to Japan." Similar entries appear from time to time in later numbers. To-day, as one turns over the leaves of the magazine and happens to light upon these words, they seem like an anachronism, since there could at that time be no mission in Japan; but "faith is assurance of things hoped for, a conviction of things not seen," and those who made these contributions could overlook all obstacles and believe that Japan would not long be closed to the Gospel. William Ropes, a Christian merchant of Boston, whose residence was in Brookline, had invited a few friends to meet once a month at his house that they might unite in prayer for the conversion of the world. At the first meeting, when a contribution had been taken, the question arose to what object it should be devoted. On the table of the room where these friends met was a basket of Japanese workmanship that had probably been obtained through the Dutch traders. Mr. Ropes drew attention to its beauty, and his suggestion that their money be given for the evangelisation of the land from which it came was accepted. The merchant soon after this left Brookline, but a "ladies' sewing society" that grew up in connection with the other meeting often sent to the American Board sums of money "for the mission in Japan." In all, more than six hundred dollars were given, and when in 1869 the Board decided to open work in Japan, the new mission was credited with over four thousand dollars as the sum of these contributions and the accrued interest. The first missionary sent to Japan by the American Board was Rev. D. C. Greene, whose father, then a young minister, was present at the first meeting in Brookline.*

lish vocabulary. McClintock and Strong's Cyc., vol. vi., p. 14.

* Rev. A. A. Bennett, D.D., gave in the *Japan Evangelist* of January and February, 1906, a detailed account of the circumstances connected with these contributions. It was reprinted in a pamphlet under the title "The First Protestant Missionary Collection for Japan."

From time to time Japanese sailors driven to sea by tempests have been carried to the shores of America or cast upon some of the islands in the Pacific Ocean. Three such waifs, who had been rescued near the mouth of the Columbia River, were sent to China in the hope that some way might be found for returning them to their own land. They were placed in the care of Dr. Karl Gutzlaff, who gave them shelter in his own house at Macao. He became much interested in them and applied himself with so much zeal to the study of their language that he became able to converse with them upon simple subjects. Soon afterwards, four more Japanese, who had been wrecked on the Philippine Islands, also found a home with Dr. Gutzlaff. Mr. C. W. King, an American merchant residing in China, gave the use of his ship *Morrison* for carrying these people back to Japan. It sailed from Macao, July 4, 1837. Every precaution was taken to avoid whatever might excite the suspicion or the opposition of the Japanese. The ship's guns were left behind so that the expedition might be shown to be entirely peaceful. Much to Dr. Gutzlaff's disappointment, it was further decided that no Christian books in the Chinese language should be taken.* This was not because Mr. King was not interested in Christian work. On the contrary, he hoped that the expedition might be a help in opening Japan to the Gospel, and three Christian missionaries accompanied him and Mrs. King on the voyage. They were Drs. Karl Gutzlaff, S. Wells Williams, and Peter Parker. Dr. Parker, being a physician, took with him a stock of medicines, some instruments, and a number of anatomical plates. He also had a paper prepared stating his profession and his willingness to give his services gratuitously to any that needed them. So far as recorded, the only opportunity Dr. Parker had for practising his art was while making a short stop in Loochoo. He lent a pamphlet on vaccination to a physi-

* Mr. King in his account of the expedition writes: "To prevent the possibility of any harm to these poor exiles by their implication in any suspicion on the score of religion, some Chinese tracts, which got on board the *Morrison* without my knowledge, were now transferred to the *Raleigh*."

cian, who copied it and seemed much interested in its contents. Dr. Parker, in giving orally some further explanations about the way in which the operation should be performed, actually vaccinated the old gentleman before the latter was fully aware that the instruction was being carried to such a practical stage.

A set of papers was prepared for presentation to the Japanese Government. One of these gave the names of the shipwrecked sailors, the story of their rescue, and a request that an officer be sent on board to receive them. Another gave an account of the United States and expressed the hope that Japan would be ready to enter into friendly relations with it. In order to show that the religion of its people need not be an obstacle, the explanation was inserted: "God is worshipped by every man according to his own conscience, and there is perfect toleration of all religions. We ourselves worship the God of peace, respect our superiors, and live in harmony with one another."

A list of the presents that had been brought mentioned a portrait of Washington, a telescope, a pair of globes, an encyclopedia, a collection of American treaties, and an American history. In referring to the books, the following remark was appended: "Languages of nations differ, and perhaps ours, though much more extensively spoken than Dutch or Portuguese, may not be understood in your honourable country. If so, and at your request, one of my party shall remain in Japan a year to teach our language." There was also a list of the articles of merchandise on board, with a request that there might be free intercourse with Japanese merchants.

These documents were never delivered. The *Morrison* anchored in the Bay of Yedo, July 30. A number of boats pushed out from the shore and one or two hundred Japanese came on board, but no officer appeared. Letters asking that some one come with authority to confer with the Americans were entrusted to the visitors and it was thought that an official visit would be received the next morning. A little before dawn, however, some cannon that had been brought in the night to a neighbouring promontory opened fire, one of the balls striking the

ship without doing much damage. Bad weather was setting in, and, as there was no good anchorage that could not be commanded by batteries, it was deemed advisable to depart and renew at some other place the attempt to get into communication with officials. Since the wind and currents were unfavourable for a landing on Hondo, the Japanese waifs advised going to Kagoshima.

The reception there was similar to the one before experienced, and the *Morrison* was again fired upon. Mr. King now offered as a last resort to take the Japanese to Nagasaki, where he hoped the intercession of the Dutch would make it possible for them to land. After what had occurred, they were unwilling to be put in the hands of their country's officials and begged to be taken back to China. The *Morrison* therefore left Japanese waters and was soon back in Macao.* Dr. Williams says of this expedition: "Commercially speaking, the voyage cost about $2,000 without any return; and the effects in a missionary or scientific way were nil. But not finally. The seven men brought back were employed in one way or another, and most of them usefully. Two remained with Mr. Gutzlaff for many years; and two worked in my printing-office at Macao; these four aided us in getting some knowledge of their language, so that between us the books of Genesis and Matthew, and the Gospel and Epistles of John were done into Japanese for their instruction. Rikimatsu, the youngest man, went to Nagasaki with Admiral Stirling in 1855 as his interpreter. He and Otosan, who lived at Shanghai, both showed in their correct lives that the faith which they professed was a living principle. They were the first fruits of the Church of Christ in Japan. . . . For nearly two years, five of them maintained daily prayer in my house at Macao; and their harsh repulse was one of the arguments they used to implore the Governor of Nations to send the Gospel to their countrymen." †

* King, "Notes of the Voyage of the *Morrison*," New York, 1839. Parker, "Journal of an Expedition from Singapore to Japan," London, 1838. See also "Life and Letters of S. W. Williams," pp. 93-99.

† "Life and Letters," p. 99. In 1841, Dr. Williams wrote of

Before condemning the Japanese for refusing to receive back these waifs, we must put ourselves in their place. They might well suspect that the foreigners were using shipwrecked sailors as tools for gaining some advantage for themselves. If moved only by compassion, why did they not bring the men to Nagasaki, or, better still, send them by the Dutch ship? The Daimyo of Echizen, it is said, urged that the castaways be received; but others declared that there was danger of their introducing the Christian religion and in other ways aiding the designs of the crafty foreigners.

In 1848 Ranald McDonald, then twenty-three years old, one of the crew of the whaleship *Plymouth,* had himself left adrift in a small boat off the coast of Japan. Going to the shore, he was put under arrest and so remained until he and some other American sailors were released at the demand of Commander Glynn who visited Japan in the U. S. Ship *Preble.* The statement made by McDonald before Commander Glynn shows him to have been a man with sufficient regard for religion to lead him to take his Bible among the few effects that he brought on shore. It may possibly be that he was a religious enthusiast who had hopes of doing some missionary work. He says that when examined by the Japanese officials in Nagasaki: "They finally asked me if I believed there was a God in Heaven. I answered, Yes; that I believed in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in our Lord and

three other Japanese as having lately reached Macao, so that at that time he had seven living with him. Another attempt to return shipwrecked waifs to Japan was made in 1845. Captain Cooper found several such persons on St. Peter's, "an uninhabited island a few leagues southeast of Niphon." Two days later, he rescued a crew of eleven persons from a disabled junk. He landed three of these at a point somewhat north of Yedo and sent them as messengers "to inform the Emperor of his intended visit to the capital to deliver the men whom he had rescued, to obtain food and water, and to make the repairs necessary. On entering the Bay of Yedo, he was well treated by the officials, and the castaways were received; though a letter was presented to Captain Cooper asking that he inform others that hereafter no shipwrecked Japanese would be allowed to return except through the Chinese or Dutch." *The Albany Evening Journal* for June 24, 1876, gave an account of this voyage.

Saviour Jesus Christ." At Nagasaki he was confined in a temple. He said: "The day after being put in this prison I asked for my books, particularly my Bible. The interpreter told me with a good deal of fervour or interest, 'not to speak of the Bible in Japan; it was not a good book.'" One interesting paragraph in McDonald's testimony is that in which he tells how he failed to make democracy understood when he was asked about the ship *Preble*. "The interpreter wished me to give him the relative rank of the captain of the ship by counting in the order of succession from the highest chief in the United States. First, I gave the People, which they could not comprehend; then the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy, commodore, post captain, and commander." *

To Protestants as to Roman Catholics it seemed that the Loochoo Islands might be made a stepping stone for reaching Japan, since these islands were under its control, and the language was supposed to be the same. In 1843 a number of officers in the British navy formed a society called the "Loochoo Naval Mission," whose object was the teaching of Christianity to the people of the islands whose name it bore. One of the leaders in this movement was Lieutenant Clifford, who had been with Captain Basil Hall in the latter's visit to Loochoo. In 1845 the society sent out as its missionary, B. J. Bettelheim, M.D. He was a converted Jew, a Hungarian by birth, but a British subject by naturalisation. His wife was of English parentage. Dr. Peter Parker, of Canton, with whom he resided for a short time and to whom were addressed two letters that give an account of his experience in Loochoo,† said of him: "I am able to testify to his superior talents and varied learning, his talents as a

* 32d Congress, 1st Session, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 59, pp. 25-28.

† The letters were printed in two pamphlets. The first has an introductory note by Dr. Parker. A manuscript note (perhaps by Dr. Parker) on the Boston Library's copy of the second pamphlet says that there are several alterations from the original, "the Bishop of Victoria having taken on himself the liberty of changing and suppressing what was not quite in unison with high Episcopal principles."

linguist, and his acquirements in various languages (speaking and writing Hebrew with the same facility as English), and to his devoted missionary spirit."

Accompanied by his wife, his two children, and a lady who was expected to engage in educational work, he reached the harbour of Napha, May 1, 1846. He also had with him a man hastily procured in China as an interpreter, of whom he says: "His knowledge of English was in perfect keeping with mine of Chinese, and by the time of our arrival here, we could converse with each other but very little." He also thought that the man did not understand very well the kind of Chinese that was spoken in Loochoo. The lady teacher likewise proved disappointing, for at the last moment she declared her unwillingness to land, and went back with the ship that brought her.

M. Forcade, a French missionary who had been in Loochoo for two years, came out in a boat to the ship. Dr. Bettelheim, who apparently had not known of his being there, writes of his own pleasure, not only in meeting a European, but in having a visible proof that it was possible for one to live in Loochoo, for he was sure "that what was granted to the French Tricolor could not be refused to the Union Jack." The Loochooan officials were not inclined to give a hearty welcome to the new arrivals. Dr. Bettelheim now made the most of his doubts about the interpreter's ability to understand them. He says: "Whenever my interpreter reported to me their utter unwillingness to receive or even let us land, I seemed persuaded he had not understood them, and smiled with the full assurance of one whom Captain Hall had taught better things of Loochoo."

For some reason the captain of the ship did not wish to send his boats to the shore, and the Loochooans refused to convey the foreigners. Dr. Bettelheim was equal to the emergency. He writes:

"I now saw that nothing short of a *coup-de-main* would turn the balance in my favour. Unable to get the ship's boats to land my things, which were already prepared on deck, I begged the officer on guard to let as many of them as possible be speedily lowered into the two native boats alongside the vessel, while

I endeavoured to keep the owners as merry as I could in the cabin below. This was agreed to and most luckily effected before the company showed any signs of impatience. A drop of liquor is always welcome to a Loochooan, and he will sit with you so long as you fill his glass. But now a good part of my cargo being transshipped, I on my part became impatient; the mystery was revealed, and the company hastened pellmell down to their boats and shoved off at full speed as if to prevent their unexpected good luck further increasing. This was just as I desired. I had not the slightest fear of any damage being done to my goods, and could not repress an encouraging feeling crossing my bosom on beholding the natives doing something towards the reception of the missionary, although I at the same time knew they did it involuntarily.

"At this stage of affairs the captain could not of course refuse a boat to let me look after my baggage, and in this likewise some boxes were taken on shore. That we had the native boats to guide us was the most fortunate feature of the whole affair. For, had I landed without them, I should certainly have carried all my cargo to M. Forcade's dwelling, taking advantage of his kind permission given me the preceding day. Such a step, I afterwards plainly saw, would have been the worst we could have taken; for once housed, however huddled together (M. Forcade had then only a single room and a cabin), the officials would have gladly seen both parties as uncomfortable as possible; and never have made the slightest effort to accommodate us; or suppose they were indeed capable of a shadow of hospitality, we should have been obliged to accept thankfully the meanest hovel they might have felt disposed to pick out for us.

"As it was, we rowed in quite another direction, following the natives to Napha (M. Forcade lived in a village called Tumai), and arrived with them at a spot called Tundo, just at the entrance of the junk-harbour where, as we now know, it was impossible for them to stop. Thus the onus fell on them to try by all means to get us to go to another place; so that we could, as we really did, stand out for a good residence by mere passive continuance where we were. Some slight resistance was made to landing our goods; part of them were actually plunged into the sea during the pushing to and fro; but as it did not amount to more than a vain attempt, I found it best to leave it entirely to the heroism of the second mate while I went twice more to and from the ship, till all things were landed. I then brought my family and straightway proceeded with them to the temple. Arrived there, we were immediately waited upon by a great number of officers. The table being served, the parley recommenced; it seemed to me never to end. At last, the Governor of Napha came; but as I could not know at all how to compliment either in the Chinese or another manner, I found it best to continue unmoved in the stern oriental dignity I soon perceived it was best to assume and keep up till at least a concession as to residence was made us."

The Governor at first was not inclined to grant any favours; but Dr. Bettelheim says that on seeing him getting ready to withdraw:

"I expressed astonishment at his omitting to order my things to be removed from the beach, intimating at the same time that I held him responsible for any damage happening to them, . . . and, though we had a great number of boxes and packages, in less than a quarter of an hour all were in the yard."

The next day Dr. Bettelheim was presented with a document to the following effect:

"A duly prepared petition. Hiang Yungpau, the Treasurer of the Department of Chungshan in the Kingdom of Loochoo hereby earnestly begs you not to stop in these quarters in order to tranquilise this little region. The report of Ching Liangpeh, the local magistrate of Napha, states as follows: 'that the English physician Bettelheim told me with his own mouth: "if your honourable country will let me come ashore, the ship will immediately leave, &c." Having reflected that the said Bettelheim had brought with him his wife and children, and that having been a long time at sea they must be suffering both in body and mind, my heart could hardly bear to refuse him to land as he requested. But an examination of our laws and regulations shows that there is none for permitting persons or officers from another country to land with the intention of remaining. I repeatedly and decidedly begged to decline his request, but he would not hear to it, and brought his wife and children ashore with the intention of stopping. As is right, I clearly inform you of these things.'

"On receiving this, I again examined and ascertained that our Government has hitherto strictly forbidden foreigners of all ranks to come ashore to live. How much more, too, since this country has such insignificant limits, the ground everywhere so impoverished and poor, and the productions so inconsiderable; it can scarcely be called a country. If foreigners dwell here, truly it will not be convenient. But year before last, a French ship came in, whose captain stated 'that after a few months a ship of a high commander would arrive, and that in the meantime he wished to leave an agent and an interpreter with him to explain matters better.' As soon as I heard this, I explained the matter and firmly refused his request; but the captain would not listen to me and sailed away leaving behind the two individuals. I, the Treasurer, could do no other way, and here they have been left to stop till this time. Now in the opinion of this Government, since these two men came till now, both officers and people, seeing that they constantly attended to their own matters, have each been confined to their own business and station. But in this miserable region, the present year has been one of extraordinary dearth, so that the whole population has been greatly straitened

and obliged to feed upon wild pineapples to keep alive. Truly I fear that before long the scarcity will become alarming and we shall be upon the borders of starvation. I am now anxiously awaiting the arrival of the high French commander, when I shall state the circumstances of the case and again earnestly beg him to take these two men home with him.

"But, sir, if you now persist in stopping here, the distress of rulers and people will become more aggravated, and the country surely will never be able to stand it. I humbly beg you to have some consideration for this distressed, worn-out country; look down on us with magnanimity, be humane and compassionate. Give up the design of stopping in this land; wait till wind and weather be favourable, then embark in the same ship and sail back to your country. This is what I anxiously hope and look for you to do."

Few missionaries at the present day would justify the way in which Dr. Bettelheim pushed himself into a country where evidently it was only fear of the military power of England that prevented the officials from using the most summary methods for keeping him out. The Kingdom of God is not to be built up by disregard of the rights of others, and it may be questioned whether its progress was not retarded rather than hastened by what was done in Loochoo. Dr. Bettelheim, however, was persistent. He says that he contented himself by sending a good present instead of any direct answer. A showy American clock seemed to be especially acceptable to the officer. The ship soon sailed away, and Dr. Bettelheim was asked to look at a house that had been chosen for his residence. It was so dark, damp, and small that he refused to accept it. Accordingly a large but dilapidated temple was assigned to him. Five Loochooans, to whom was given the name of "interpreters," were lodged in the same building, while three huts were built in the courtyard, each to contain five men, stationed there, it was said, to guard the missionary's property.

When Dr. Bettelheim offered to put his knowledge of medicine at the disposal of the Loochooans, an official communication from the Government declared the country to be so well supplied with medicines and physicians that his help would not be required. His offers to teach English, geography, and astronomy, were likewise declined.

Dr. Bettelheim entered earnestly upon the task of learning the language. He soon rendered into the Loochooan dialect some prayers from Dr. Morrison's Chinese translation of the English liturgy. He says that as he daily read these at family worship he was audibly followed by the native servants. He also composed some sermons which he committed to memory. He writes of his early attempts at preaching:

"Crowds gathered and were permitted to gather round me wherever I raised my humble pulpit upon a stone, in the corner of a street, in the market, in the roads or lanes, in Shui or in Napha; no matter where I halted, there all the passers-by stopped, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood opened their houses and slipped out, all of them, men, women, children; the stalls were idle, sellers and buyers forgot their trade while apparently engaged in a higher business."

M. Leturdu, who says that the French missionaries made no attempt at public preaching, writes of Dr. Bettelheim:

"It has often happened that when he was preaching to a circle of hearers and just as he reached the most heated part of his discourse, an official would give a whistle. At that instant half of the circle of those before whom he spoke would turn half way round to the right so as to present their backs to him. At a second signal the other half would execute a similar movement to the left. Thus the poor preacher found himself surrounded by persons of whom he could see only their backs. If he complained, the officers would reply with a sober countenance that the people were showing him the greatest possible politeness, since they thus expressed to him that they considered themselves unworthy to look upon his face. People have gone so far as to put buckets of filth at his feet while he was speaking." *

In October, 1847, the King of Loochoo died, and from that time the treatment accorded to Dr. Bettelheim was more unfriendly. On the day of the funeral, as he was walking with two French missionaries, they were assaulted with sticks and stones. Afterwards the attendants tried to keep him from having intercourse with the people. He writes:

"It took a year of persevering opposition, now hidden, now open, to enable even a despotic cabal like that we had fallen under

* "La Relig. de Jés. Res.," vol. i., p. 173.

since the King's death to bring about a total desertion of the places where I halted and of the streets and lanes I passed through. First, there was a bustle, a running here and there, a rattling and clapping of shutting doors and windows, as if a devil had come in their way; greengrocers deserted their stalls, labourers ceased their work, and crews left their boats; women dragged their children in-doors in such haste and fright as to make them scream out when they saw me again."

As the houses were shut against him, he tried another expedient:

"Rolls of portions of Scriptures and of tracts in the Chinese, and addresses written in the Loochooan—copies of which my good wife busily helped me to multiply during late night hours—were the only missiles I threw into the besieged courts; but, alas! what I strewed with difficulty and hazard for many months was easily gathered by the vigilant enemy and brought back to me, a large trunkful, by government emissaries. My chief pulpit, the great market of Napha, where I knew they could not long go on driving off buyer and seller, and where my charities to a few cripples waiting there for alms had evidently made a good impression on the multitude, was certainly not forsaken; but no sooner did a man or woman look up to the speaker than a hint, a yell, or a pull from somewhere, was sure to sink the daring eyes to the ground."

Later experiences are recorded in the following extracts:

"To the rolls of tracts which I colported through the streets I added a good bagful of cakes. . . . Those who refused a tract were frequently less rigorous toward my cakes. . . . Even after my hawking stratagems had been out-manœuvred by the vigilance of the enemy who countermined all my efforts, and nobody cared either for my tracts, or my bag, or my cakes; a few naked, sun-browned little ones still remained my customers; and observing that the dark of the evening gave the spies less play-ground, I chose this time to go out into the byways and hedges where tawny children presently hopped to and from me in considerable numbers, of course with the natural desire of getting a cake or some cash, but now and then they got something better, a grain of sweet, heavenly manna, or a shekel out of the sanctuary. No wonder a stop should be put to such delightful rambles."

"Shut out entirely from street labour nothing remained but boldly to venture into people's houses. . . . . How I felt the first time I found myself within a Loochooan house can be better imagined than described; but as I counted the cost beforehand and was prepared even for a 'Get thee behind me! Get thee hence!' or something still more forcible than words, nothing

new could well befall me. I was little moved with the cries of the women or frightened at the screams of the children, but seated myself in the first room I could get access to. You will perhaps ask in surprise at the outset how I could gain access into houses whose doors a well-trained body of spies would certainly take the precaution to have shut. The answer is simple, I did not enter by the door, at least in most cases, for I could not, but found my way through the deep gaps in dilapidated back walls. I might say I have done some service to the masons in this way and perhaps to the owners too, for by and by the former got more work and the latter got their walls repaired; this whole practice of getting in through such an opening at the back, at first considered here no more irregular than it would be in villages at home to get over a fence or a hedge, came by and by into disuse."

"In the beginning of my visits to these dwellings I rather selected the respectable part of the population, and met with astonishingly good reception. After the first surprise and confusion occasioned by my sudden appearance was over, one or other of the family, and sometimes even the master, kept me company and was sure to hear the message of salvation, as I was watching my time and gave my visit a professional turn as soon as I could. But invariably the second or third visit to the same house found matters altered. In some instances I was plainly forbidden the house. In some, all the inmates ran off. In others, the master told me if I had compassion upon them, I would not expose them to the dangers they ran in letting me enter their doors. Not very long ago, in three instances, I had hairbreadth escapes from a good beating."

He would sometimes hide in a thicket until evening, and then suddenly rush to the crowded market-place.

"Surprise has tamed the enemy—so I thought—and I am granted half an hour to address the wondering multitude. But the enemy is not tame; he is on the alert, and if there is a pause of half an hour, it is used to gather the troop, and on they come, bearing long and heavy bamboos, striking upon the naked bodies of the people as if they were a mass of cattle and crying out, 'Why did you not run? Why did you not run?' thus betraying all the more plainly that it is they who teach the people to flee from us as before wild beasts."

In 1850 the Bishop of Victoria visited Loochoo. He found that the people were prevented from seeking medical aid from Dr. Bettelheim or otherwise having anything to do with him. This, however, did not seem to be because of hatred towards Christianity, but because of fear that Japan would visit its displeasure on Loochoo if

it showed itself friendly to foreigners. On the other hand, there was fear that the British Government would resent any ill treatment of its subjects.

At the time of the Bishop's visit, he was ill for a few days. This filled the officials with apprehension lest he should be left with them. The Vice-Governor, therefore, sent a letter to the captain of the naval vessel that had brought him, saying rumours had come that certain persons requiring medical aid had slept at Dr. Bettelheim's residence. The letter continued:

"Now if this should lead to their permanently remaining here, it would cause much uneasiness. Our humble country is poor and the few sorts of grain which we grow are scanty. During the period of Bettelheim's residence here, all of us, from the highest to the lowest classes, have been constantly occupied in business concerning him, so as to be unable to attend to our vocations, which exposes us to severe want. If still more persons remain here, our troubles will be greatly increased, so that the nation will assuredly be unable to subsist."

The letter also speaks of the undesirability of having any other religion than Confucianism taught:

"Besides, our gentry, as well as the common people, are without natural capacity and, although they have attended exclusively to Confucianism, they have as yet been unable to arrive at perfection. If they should now also have to study in addition the religion of the Lord of Heaven, such an attempt would surpass our ability, and the heart does not incline to it."

A letter written not long after this by Mrs. Bettelheim tells of her husband's having been thrown out of a house and left lying for some time senseless on the ground. Even after she came, the people were afraid to help him. They were beaten back by the officers, who after considerable delay got two men to carry him home.

In a letter written in 1851, Dr. Bettleheim speaks of having translated Luke, John, Acts, and Romans. He tells the story of a young man whom he speaks of as the nephew and namesake of a professor of Christianity whose fate is recorded in the reports of the Loochoo Mission. The young man had formerly been one of the guards. One day, as Dr. Bettelheim and his wife were passing along the street, they heard their names called

and found this man bound to a heavy beam in such a way that he could not change his position. He had been beaten over the head with a stick. Insufficient food, and that of a poor quality, was given to him. This treatment was because he had declared his belief in Christianity. He repeated several passages from one of the books he had studied while acting as guard. When Dr. Bettelheim offered to loosen the stocks that fastened his feet, and thus to give him relief, at least while they were with him, the captive refused, saying that, since his stepfather had confined him in that way, he would not be so unfilial as to rebel.

A month passed before they could again get access to the prisoner, who was then much weaker than before. He said that he had been declared insane and that punishments called "remedies for bringing him to his senses" were regularly inflicted. A month later he had disappeared, the stepfather saying that he had been sent elsewhere to recover from illness. Dr. Bettelheim asked that some books be sent to the young man for his consolation; but to this proposition the stepfather replied: "These books were declared to be the cause and the proof of his madness. How then can I dare accept them?" Not long after this, Dr. Bettelheim was told that the young man was dead.

II

THE OPENING OF THE GATES

1853-1859

AT last the time had come for Japan to be drawn forth from its long seclusion. The way in which this was accomplished by Commodore Perry has often been described, and here we need concern ourselves with only such particulars as have a direct connection with our subject.

When it became known that the United States was fitting out an expedition to Japan, great interest was aroused among those who hoped that among its results would be the opening of the land to the Gospel. One young man, Jonathan Goble, joined the force of marines for the purpose of gaining such knowledge of Japan as would help in future attempts at its evangelisation. During the last part of the outward voyage he had an opportunity to begin missionary work by instructing a Japanese who was one of a crew of shipwrecked sailors picked up by an American ship and sent to China. When Commodore Perry offered to take these sailors to their own country, only one of them accepted the offer. The sailors gave him the nickname "Sam Patch," by which he was known to foreigners through the remainder of his life. In the account of the expedition Commodore Perry says:

"One of the marines named Goble, a religious man, had taken a special interest in him; finding in his docility and intelligence promise of good fruit from a properly directed religious training. Goble had begun with him a system of instruction which he hoped would not only make the Japanese a fair English scholar, but a faithful Christian. Sam came to the United States in the *Mississippi*, and accompanied his benevolent shipmate and devoted teacher to his home in the interior of New York."*

*The name (*na*) of this Japanese was Sentaro. He united

Dr. S. Wells Williams, whose association with shipwrecked Japanese had given him opportunities to gain some knowledge of their language, and whose acquaintance with Chinese ideographs could also be utilised, accepted with some misgivings the office of interpreter to the expedition. It may be that some of the Christian literature prepared by the aid of the shipwrecked Japanese was taken by him or others; for Spalding in his account of the expedition says that "some, temporarily connected with the squadron, distributed 'Yesoo' or religious tracts among the people during our stay, which was not adventitous [*sic*] for our objects." The narrative does not make clear whether this distribution was in Loochoo or in Japan proper.*

While the expedition was in Loochoo, Dr. Bettelheim aided in the preparation of documents that were to be used in Japan. To show his appreciation of this help, the Commodore offered to repair the house in which Dr. Bettelheim lived, and for this purpose sent a company of men on shore. These persons procured some liquor and became so unruly that they did more harm than good to the building. The work was then put in Mr. Goble's care. His faithfulness in this and other tasks led Commodore Perry to offer him promotion. Mr. Goble said that instead of this he would like to be allowed, on reaching Japan, to go ashore whenever there was an opportunity to do so. His request was granted, and by simply giving notice to his superior officer he could visit the shore at almost any time when a boat was going. The knowledge of the country thus obtained he utilised in the preparation of lectures that he afterwards gave in America and England. A few years later, as we shall see, Mr. Goble went to Japan as a missionary.

It was well understood that the prejudices of the

with a Baptist church in Hamilton, N. Y. It was hoped that he might take a prominent part in the evangelisation of his people; but he proved unfit for such labours. He died in 1874. Over his grave in Tokyo is a stone cross bearing the name by which he was best known, "Sam Patch."

* Spalding, "The Japan Expedition," p. 208.

Japanese against Christianity would add to the difficulties of negotiating a treaty with them. In the directions sent by President Fillmore to the Secretary of the Navy it was said:

"The deep-seated aversion of this people to hold intercourse with Christian nations is said to be owing chiefly to the indiscreet zeal with which the early missionaries, particularly those of Portugal, endeavoured to propagate their religion. The Commodore will therefore say that the Government of this country, unlike those of every other Christian country, does not interfere with the religion of its own people, much less with that of other nations."

The President's letter to the "Emperor of Japan" touched upon the same point:

"The Constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquillity of your Imperial Majesty's dominions."

The reality of the Japanese prejudice was manifested when the treaty came to be signed. The English version bears the date, "This thirty-first day of March, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, and of Kayei the seventh year, third month, and third day;" but the Japanese version omits the former of these two ways of designating time. Dr. Williams says in his journal:

"Upon my desiring them to sign and date their copy, a difficulty arose, for they would only affix the date in Kayei's name and year, while I required both their term and ours, as in the Dutch [version of the treaty]; they declined to write the characters for 'our Lord Jesus Christ,' and the Commodore allowed this omission." *

Spalding says that when some of the Japanese and Americans were exchanging autographs, he requested one of the former to write his name on the title-page of a Book of Common Prayer, which happened to have a steel engraving of the Cross upon it. "He had dipped

* "Life and Letters," p. 214.

his camel's-hair pencil into his portable inkstand, passed the point through his lips, and was about to write, when his eyes rested upon the cross; he instantly shook his head, threw the book upon the table, nor could he be induced to touch it again."

The first two days after the American fleet reached Uraga, some of the Japanese officials had been allowed to come on board the flag-ship. The next day was Sunday, and when a boat containing several people of high rank came from the shore, they were informed that no visitors could be received on that day, which was one observed by Americans for the worship of God. The hymn appropriately chosen for the morning service was that commencing:

"Before Jehovah's awful throne,
Ye nations bow with sacred joy;
Know that the Lord is God alone;
He can create, He can destroy." *

"With the aid of many of the fine voices of the crew and the assistance of the brass instruments of the band, in sight of heathen temples, and perhaps in the hearing of their worshipers, swelled up 'Old Hundred' like a deep diapason of old ocean." Thus did America call upon Japan, not only to have friendly relations with Western nations, but also to know and serve the Lord.

Commodore Perry was not always so careful in his observance of the Sabbath as this incident might lead us to suppose. Dr. Williams at another time wrote in his journal:

"Although to-day is Sunday, there is little cessation from work or business, and if God adds His blessing and enables us to carry out the design of the expedition, it will not be because or in

* In some accounts it is said that the hymn used was Keith's version of the One Hundredth Psalm, and it is so stated in the early editions of my "Japan and Its Regeneration." The only contemporary evidence that I have found is in Spalding's "The Japanese Expedition," p. 148, and he mentions the hymn given in the text. So also does Rev. John S. Sewall, D.D, in "The Log-book of the Captain's Clerk," p. 153; but a letter from Dr. Sewall tells me that he is not sure which of the two hymns was used.

answer to our prayers or regard to Him, but because we are used as Nebuchadnezzar the ax-helve was, to carry out that which falls in with His plans. In fact, no regard seems to be paid here to whatever scruples a man may have about working on the Sabbath. . . . God's day, and by consequence His law, is made subordinate to the will of one man." *

Afterwards when Townsend Harris refused to transact business on the Sabbath, the Japanese urged "that when Commodore Perry was here, he made no difference for Sunday." †

Whatever inconsistency there may have been in Commodore Perry's behaviour, he was not indifferent to the influence that his work would have upon the religious history of Japan. In a paper read in 1856, before the American Geographical Society, he said:

"Though a sailor from boyhood, yet I may be permitted to feel some interest in the work of enlightening heathenism and imparting a knowledge of that revealed truth of God, which I fully believe advances man's progress here and gives him his only safe ground of hope for hereafter. To Christianise a strange people, the first important step should be to gain their confidence and respect by means practically honest and in every way consistent with the precepts of our holy religion." ‡

Not only were religious services held upon the vessels of the fleet, but Christian funeral rites were performed upon the land. The first death occurred in Yokohama. The Japanese proposed that the body be sent to Uraga, whence they would take it by junk to Nagasaki for burial in a cemetery set apart for the interment of foreigners. They soon yielded, however, to Commodore Perry's remonstrances, and permitted the burial to be in Yokohama. Mr. Jones, the Chaplain, being in doubt as to whether the Japanese would allow Christian services to proceed without molestation, "asked the Commodore for directions, and was told, 'Do exactly as you always do on such occasions, no more, nor no less;' and in answer to his inquiry how he should act if interrupted, the answer was, 'Still go on and have

* "Life and Letters," p. 217.
† Griffis's "Townsend Harris," p. 40.
‡ Griffis's "Perry," p. 408.

your usual service.' No opposition, however, was made, and the Chaplain felt that it was a day to be remembered that, after the lapse of centuries, a minister of Christ stood, in his own person, upon the soil of Japan and unmolested performed one of the rites of his faith." In describing the ceremony, Mr. Jones says that the company was received, on landing, by the Mayor of Craga and his attendants.

"I had expected that on their seeing me in my official costume and now knowing that there was a Christian minister on their shore and among them that there would be a recoil and that they would shrink from me as from something poisonous; but there was no such thing. On the contrary, they came up successively and gave me their hands for a shake. (They have learned our salutation and seem to be fond of it.) The interpreter, pointing to my prayer-book, asked if it were for ceremonies over the dead, and smiled as before when I told him that it was. . . . Our way led through the village, and the occasion seemed to excite quite a holiday among them; everybody, men, women, and children, running and gaining good places for seeing, and squatting down on the ground till we had passed, when they would run and gain another place for observation if they could. . . . They had selected for the interment a very pretty spot about a hundred yards from the village and closely adjoining an old burying-ground of their own. We found the Buddhist priest seated there, but he attempted no interference with our religious ceremonies."

This priest remained during the Christian service, and at its close performed the rites of his own religion; beating a gong, burning incense, and reading prayers.*

Chaplain Jones's views concerning the possibilities of missionary work were expressed as follows:

"Apart from governmental influence, I think there would be no great difficulty in introducing Christianity, *but the Government would interfere most decidedly*. I performed funeral services on shore four times; once at Yokohama, twice at Hakodate, and once at Shimoda; in every instance in the presence of the Japanese, and in most when large numbers were collected. They always behaved well. Japanese officers were present, with their insignia, on all occasions. I thus became known among the people everywhere as a *Christian clergyman;* or, to follow their signs for

* "Amer. Exped.," vol. i., p. 475; Spalding, "The Jap. Exped.," pp. 236–238. Other funerals were afterwards conducted at Shimoda and Hakodate.

designating me, as 'a praying man.' Instead of this producing a shrinking from me, as I had supposed it would, I found that I had decidedly gained by it in their respect, and this among officials as well as commoners. At our last visit to Shimoda we found a new governor. . . . At the bazaar, amid the buying, etc., I was led up to him by one of the officials and introduced *as a clergyman.* The Governor's countenance brightened up as my office was announced, and his salutation and treatment of me became additionally courteous. I mention this, however, for what it may be worth. There was no seeming aversion to me because I was a minister of Christianity. The Government, however, beyond all doubt, is exceedingly jealous about our religion; but the Japanese officials as well as the people are so inquisittive and so observant of all that comes within their reach that, doubtless, after a time, they may be brought to see the difference between ourselves and the Romanists. Against the latter they have a deep-seated dislike. Until they do understand that difference, no form of Christianity can probably get foothold in Japan." *

Mr. Jones found an opportunity to give a little information about his religion:

"One of the priests approached, and, pointing to an image, asked Mr. Jones what it was called in America. He answered: '*Nai.*' 'We have it not.' He then pointed to the altars and asked the same question, to which he received the same reply. When the Chaplain left the temple, as he walked on, his official attendant asked him if the people prayed in America. He was answered in the affirmative, and Mr. Jones, dropping on one knee, joined his hands and, with upturned face, closed his eyes and pointed to the heavens to intimate by signs that we pray to a being there. He then asked his attendants if they prayed to that being. He replied:—'Yes, we pray to *Tien,*' their word for heaven or God." †

While Commodore Perry was in Japan, Rev. E. H. Moreton came to Loochoo to take the place of Dr. Bettelheim. Spalding describes him as "a pleasant-voiced little preacher, with mild face and cockney aspiration of the letter H." He was accompanied by his wife and child. Dr. Bettelheim's family had been sent to China, and the Loochooan officials begged that they might also be relieved of him and Mr. Moreton. In a petition addressed to Commodore Perry they wrote:

* "Amer. Exped.," vol. i., p. 446.
† *Ib.,* vol. i., p. 476.

"In the year 1844 and 1846 some French officers came, and the Englishman Bettelheim also brought hither his wife and children to reside, and they all required something to be daily given them, to our continual annoyance and trouble. Whenever an English or French ship came in, we earnestly represented these circumstances to them and besought them to take these people away with them. The Frenchmen, knowing our distresses, went away in the year 1848 to their own country and have not hitherto returned; but Bettelheim has loitered away years here and not gone; and now, further, has brought Moreton with his family to take his place and live here, greatly to the discomfort of the people, and distress and inconvenience of the country. We have learned that your excellency has authority over all the East Indian, China, and Japan seas, and not a ship of any Western country can go from one of these seas to the other but you know and regulate its movements. Therefore we lay before you our sad condition in all its particulars, humbly beseeching your kind regard upon it, and requesting that, when your fine ships return, you will take both Bettelheim and Moreton away with you. This will solace and raise us up from our low condition, and oblige us in a way not easy to be expressed." *

It had already been arranged that Dr. Bettelheim should be given passage to China; but the Loochooans had to endure the presence of his successor for two years, after which the latter also withdrew with shattered health. In 1860, the English Bishop of Victoria wrote:

"Since the close of 1855 no Protestant missionary has occupied that post; and in the face of the continued persistency of the Loochooan authorities in this course of passive resistance to all missionary efforts, it has been deemed inexpedient, if not impossible, to renew the mission. Besides, it was felt that the Japanese Government or (more accurately speaking) the agents of the Prince of Satsuma exerted an all-powerful control over this subject dependency, and that a continuance of the mission under such exceptional circumstances was to expose the local authorities themselves to severe punishment by their Japanese conquerors."

Dr. Bettelheim went to the United States, where he tried in vain to secure such funds as would enable him to undertake work in the main islands of Japan. In a statement published April 5, 1855, in the *Independent* (New York), he said: "There are a goodly number of believers in Loochoo, four of whom I baptised."

* "Amer. Exped.," vol. i., p. 498.

The treaty made by Commodore Perry did not give foreigners the right to reside in Japan, and the country was still closed to missionary efforts; yet it was evident that what had been accomplished must lead, sooner or later, to a complete opening of the doors, and the missionary societies eagerly awaited further developments. In 1855, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, asked one of its missionaries in China to visit Japan and make such investigations as should prepare the way for future operations. Failure to obtain passage from Shanghai prevented the person appointed from making the visit.*

The treaty provided for the appointment by the United States of a consul, who should reside in Shimoda. The first person to hold this position was Townsend Harris. He arrived at his post in 1856. To him was entrusted the task of negotiating a new treaty that should carry one step further what had been done by Commodore Perry. The results showed that he was eminently fitted for this duty. Professor Nitobe says:

"If 'an ambassador,' according to Wotton's definition, 'is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the commonwealth,' Harris was no diplomat. If, on the contrary, an American minister to an oriental court is a representative of the moral principles of the great Christian republic, Harris deserves the name in its best sense." †

Dr. S. Wells Williams speaks of Mr. Harris as "Truly a Christian man," and says, "His success is better explained if the fact be known that it was in answer to prayer." ‡

Mr. Harris's journals give abundant proof that he did not conceal his religion; and some of the entries, as the following, deserve a place in a history of Christianity in Japan.

"Sunday, August 24, 1856. Do not leave the ship. In the afternoon the Japanese come off and desire to see me. I decline either to see them or to hear their messages, for the reason that it is Sunday. They urge me at least to hear their message, saying

* *Mis. Herald*, March, 1864.
† "United States and Japan," p. 115.
‡ "Life and Letters," p. 298.

that it is very important and from the Governor. They also say that when Commodore Perry was here, he made no difference for Sunday, etc., etc. I adhere to my previous determination, telling them through Mr. Heusken that they can come off to-morrow morning as early as they please, and then state their message." *

"Sunday, August 31, 1856. . . . Japanese come off to see me. I refuse to see any one on Sunday. I am resolved to set an example of a proper observance of the Sabbath by abstaining from all business or pleasures on that day. I do not mean I should not take a quiet walk or any such amusement. I do not mean to set an example of Puritanism, but I will try to make it what I believe it was intended to be, a day of rest." †

In December, 1856, the ratified treaties between Russia and Japan were to be exchanged, and Harris was invited to assist in the ceremonies. His chief reason for refusing was that the day fixed for the exchange was Sunday. He wrote in his journal:

"From the time of my arrival I have refused to attend to any kind of business on that day; and after a short time the Japanese ceased to ask it of me. Should I now join the Russians, I shall contradict all my previous acts on this account, and lose my character for *consistency*, a point that cannot be too carefully watched in dealing with people like the Japanese." ‡

The journals often speak of his reading the Episcopal service, having Mr. Heusken, his interpreter, for "clerk and congregation." Sunday, December 6, 1857, was spent in Yedo, and he wrote:

"This is the second Sunday in Advent; assisted by Mr. Heusken, I read the full service in an audible voice, and with the paper doors of the house here our voices could be heard in every part of the building. This was beyond doubt the first time that the English version of the Bible was ever read or the American Protestant Episcopal service ever repeated in this city. What a host of thoughts rush upon me as I reflect on this event. Two hundred and thirty years ago, a law was promulgated in Japan inflicting death on any one who should use any of the rites of the Christian religion in Japan. That law is still unrepealed, and yet I have boldly and openly done the very acts that the Japanese law punishes so severely! . . . The first blow is now struck against the cruel persecution of Christianity by the Japanese, and, by the blessing of God, if I succeed in establishing negotiations at

* Griffis's "Townsend Harris," p. 40.
† *Ib.*, p. 51. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 93.

this time with the Japanese, I mean to boldly demand for the Americans the free exercise of their religion in Japan, with the right to build churches, and I will also demand the abolition of the custom of trampling on the cross or crucifix, which the Dutch have basely witnessed for two hundred and thirty years without a word of remonstrance. This custom has been confined to Nagasaki; had it been attempted at Shimoda, I should have remonstrated in a manner that would have compelled the Japanese to listen to me. I shall be both proud and happy if I can be the humble means of once more opening Japan to the blessed rule of Christianity." *

A week later, after speaking of a similar service, he added: "I have told the Japanese that I performed my religious worship, in order that they may not say they had no knowledge of it." †

At a later date Mr. Harris sometimes had fellow-worshippers. A writer in the New York *Journal of Commerce* tells of a service held Sunday, August 1, 1858, and attended by the officers and crews of the United States ships *Powhatan* and *Mississippi*. It was at Shimoda in the house occupied by the Consul-General. This was a temple, and the images, which had been removed from their usual place, were ranged about the walls of the room.

"Strangely our Americans were assembled in an idol's temple to celebrate Christian worship for the first time since Christianity was extirpated by fire and sword, and Protestant worship for the first time since the Advent! The Bible was read, prayers were offered, a sermon was preached, and the sweet hymns of Zion were sung in tunes not less sweet or sacred, familiar to every one from childhood, but never so sweet and touching as when sung for the first time in Japan and poured out in this old heathen temple." ‡

The writer of this account was, doubtless, Rev. Henry Wood, Chaplain of the *Powhatan*, who, we learn from other sources, conducted the service. One writer says:

"The house was surrounded by hundreds of Japanese anxiously watching what was going on. Inside of the house were several (six) Christian Japanese who had for some time been converted from heathenism." §

* "Townsend Harris," p. 223. † *Ib.*, p. 240.
‡ Quoted in *Spirit of Missions*, March, 1859.
§ Gragg, "A Cruise in the U. S. Steam Frigate *Mississippi*,"

Chaplain Wood states that Mr. Harris showed him his letter of instructions from Mr. Marcy, the American Secretary of State, in which Mr. Harris was directed "to do his best, by all judicious measures and kind influence, to obtain the full toleration of the Christian religion in Japan, and protection for all missionaries and others who should go there to promulgate it." Apparently there was some misunderstanding here, for, whatever may have been written in personal letters, the only passage in the official instructions that bore upon the subject was the remark: "The intolerance of the Japanese in regard to the Christian religion forbids us to hope that they would consent to any stipulation by which missionaries would be allowed to enter that empire, or Christian worship, according to the form of any sect, would be permitted." *

Whatever may have been the doubts of his superior concerning the possibility of obtaining any concession, Mr. Harris, as we have already seen, resolved to make the attempt; and his efforts were crowned with success, the eighth article of the treaty that he concluded providing that:

"Americans in Japan shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and for this purpose shall have the right to erect suitable places of worship. No injury shall be done to such buildings, nor any insult be offered to the religious worship of the Americans.

"American citizens shall not injure any Japanese temple or *miya*, or offer any insult or injury to Japanese religious ceremonies, or to the objects of their worship.

"The Americans and Japanese shall not do anything that may be calculated to excite religious animosity. The Government of Japan has already abolished the practice of trampling on religious emblems." †

This treaty, which was signed in July, 1858, provided that certain ports should be available for the residence

p. 33. See also Johnston, "China and Japan." If the statement concerning the six Christian Japanese is correct, they were probably persons employed in the American ships.

* U. S. Dip. Cor., 1867, Part 2, p. 60.

† In 1856 Holland had obtained a treaty containing the curiously-worded provision that "Within the buildings at Deshima the Dutch may practise their own or the Christian religion."

of American citizens; some of them to be open July 4, 1859, and others at later dates. The treaties that Japan subsequently made with England, France, and other nations were modelled upon this one. They did not give permission for preaching Christianity to the Japanese, and it is said that the endeavour of some of the foreign ambassadors to have an article to this end inserted, was obstinately resisted.* Yet there was reason to believe that, if missionaries availed themselves of the liberty to reside in Japan, they would find opportunities for teaching their religion to the people. An officer of the United States Navy had already, in 1857, written from Hakodate, expressing the opinion that the time had come for sending missionaries—prudent men, of tried experience—who "must remember that it is death to a Japanese to become a Christian," and must not "rush headlong into the work without considering secondary means;" but who, if judicious, would probably "meet with as much encouragement as they generally do when first commencing operations in heathen lands." †

Some of the missionaries in China visited Japan in order to see what openings there might be. Among these, in 1858, was Dr. S. Wells Williams. He says:

"I was much impressed with what Mr. Donker Curtius, the Dutch envoy, who had just signed a treaty, then said; that the Japanese officials had told him they were ready to allow foreigners all trading privileges if a way could be found to keep opium ‡ and Christianity out of the country. There were also then at Nagasaki Rev. Mr. Syle and Chaplain Henry Wood, and

*Boix, "Martyrs du Japon," p. 248.

†Quoted in *Missionary Herald*, March, 1864, p. 66.

‡The merchants were as eager to introduce opium as Christians were to send the Gospel. Chaplain Wood wrote November 7, 1859. "The first English ship which entered a port of Japan, Nagasaki, after the conclusion of the American treaty and before the English treaty was concluded, was a smuggler of opium, attempting to introduce it stealthily and fraudulently into a nation which does not use it and whose laws prohibit it. That ship I saw. . . . The house owning that vessel has been known to make, as I am informed, half a million of dollars a year in the Chinese opium trade, and is not content with the wage of its iniquity. It is one of the first English houses in China." N. Y. *Journal of Commerce*, quoted in *Spirit of Missions*, March, 1860.

withdraw: "As for me," wrote Fernandez, "I was afraid that the King would have our heads cut off."

"The next day," continues Fernandez, "without waiting for any order or permission of the King, Father Francis decided that we should preach in the streets of Yamaguchi. This we did in the following manner. We stood at the crossings where the people were abundant. I first read from the book an account of the creation of the world. Then in a loud voice I spoke of the great sins committed by the Japanese, dwelling principally on three things: First they forgot God, the Creator and the all-powerful One, who made and preserves them. Instead of Him they adored wood, stone, and inanimate things, through them worshipping the devil, who is the enemy of God and men. In the second place, they give themselves up to the abominations of Sodom; and at this point I exposed the shame and baseness of sin, speaking of the chastisements with which the world has been afflicted because of it. The third sin was that of the women, who, to spare themselves the trouble of bringing up children, slay their offspring at birth or even before, an act that proves them guilty of horrible cruelty and inhumanity. While I was thus preaching, Father Francis at my side engaged in prayer, asking God to bless my words to those that listened.

"Thus we continued preaching every day until there did not remain in that great city a street-crossing where we had not made public addresses. We also spoke in the house of gentlemen [*fidalgos*] who invited us, some of them for the sake of killing time, some because they wished to hear something new, and others that they might make fun of us. Some showed us either affection or pity, while others gave evident signs of despising us. Among these gentlemen was one who had, as I think, brought us to his house only for his amusement or pastime. While I was reading to him the story of the fall of the angels, how Lucifer for his pride was cast down from heaven to hell, and how those that are haughty will meet a like fate, since they will be delivered up to the demons with whom they must suffer eternal punishment, he began to show his contempt for what I was reading. Father Francis at once chided him, saying: 'However powerful you may be, if you do not humble yourself and weep for your sins, God will know how to subdue you by the torments of hell.' As the man drew nearer to us expressing his scorn for the Father and his words, Father Francis was inflamed with zeal and his face was all aglow as he said: 'Beware! unless you humble yourself, you will suffer these torments.' Thereupon we left him. As we were going from his house the Father said to me: 'I am sorry for that gentleman. The more powerful these persons are, the less they profit from God's mercies.'"

the New York *Journal of Commerce* he speaks of the way in which he utilised the appearance of Donati's comet:

"When the comet appeared in such length and splendour above the western mountains, they contemplated the strange sight with admiration, but not with terror, though they had no science or theory to account for it. . . . Very naturally, and indeed almost inevitably, the comet became an associate teacher in my seminary, furnishing the opportunity I was seeking to discourse on the great theme of God and His character, which I was wishing to introduce, but not violently or in a way to create offence and distrust, remembering the place where I stood and its history. When questions were proposed about the comet, it was easy and natural to proceed from the effect to the cause and to discourse on the existence and character of God, and the origin, the extent, and the laws of the material creation. The absurdity and folly of idols and idol worship were then argued. . . . Not only did they take no offence, but they listened with attention and respect, and seemed to give their assent. At this stage I did not venture to refer to Christianity. . . . I waited till I had secured the confidence of the Governor and the confidence and, I may add, the affection of the young men, nor even then did I make an onslaught, but, as I before remarked, waited for incidents or inquiries which should make the religious turn of the instruction natural and inevitable, and throw the responsibility, if anywhere, upon the Japanese themselves. Soon an opportunity was presented by the questions asked by one of the students when the words *church, pulpit, organ,* and *choir* occurred in one of the reading lessons This led to the explanation of the form of church edifices, the Sabbath, public worship, the singing in the church, the construction of an organ and the manner of playing it, the preacher and what he preached, and the happy effects of preaching upon those who heard and obeyed it. Thus Christianity in all its doctrines was expounded *at their own request.*

"On another occasion the conversation turned upon the *soul,* which was explained as spiritual, imperishable, immortal. What then, they inquired, becomes of it when the body dies? 'God takes the good,' it was replied, 'to heaven.' 'What is heaven?' they asked again. I explained, when they caught the idea and exclaimed, 'Paradise! Paradise!' The word had probably travelled down from the time of the Catholic missions. They next asked: 'What becomes of the bad men?' They go to a bad place where they are punished for their wicked deeds.' 'Is fire there?' they anxiously inquired, showing that either such an idea was entertained in their own religion or else had been handed down by the tradition of centuries. They were perplexed about the meaning of the word *God* which I used. I explained, going from effects to a cause, from the world to Him who made it, when one exclaimed in high excitement: 'The Creator! The Creator!'

'Yes, this God made us, and cares for us, and pities us.' They themselves saw and knew that men are ignorant and wicked, and therefore God had sent Christ, His own Son, into the world to teach mankind and to save them. Interrupting me, one asked excitedly: 'Jesus Christ?' In some way he had heard and understood the *double* name, but hesitated when he heard the *single* term only. 'Yes, Jesus Christ,' I replied. 'He loved us; He pitied us; He came into the world to teach men to be good and show them how they could be happy when they die. But men were so wicked whom He came to make happy that they seized Him and put Him to death on the cross. He was buried, but He rose again.' All this amazed them, evidently awakening their sympathy, and at the same time their admiration."

Another early teacher of English was Dr. McGowan, of the Ningpo Mission of the American Baptist Union, who, on his way to America, reached Nagasaki in January, 1859, and remained there several weeks. He had a class of several young men who had been educated as interpreters of Chinese, and who now wished to learn English. Dr. McGowan's ability to talk with them in the former language opened the way for more familiar relations than would otherwise have been possible. In a letter he says:

"As soon as they were able to spell a few words, I presented each of them with copies of the New Testament in English and Chinese, which they gladly accepted for the use the volume would be in the acquisition of our language. Understanding Chinese perfectly, they could thereby get at much of the meaning of the English version of the sacred volume. But as nothing could be done without permission of the Governor, nor even spoken without his knowledge, his assent to the acceptance of the books was necessary. Assent was refused. My class would have imperilled their lives by retaining a page of the New Testament, a work expressly prohibited by name. The Scriptures were all returned to me, but copies of the newspaper that I had published in Chinese at Ningpo and had given away were retained and sought with avidity. A certain amount of religious matter will be tolerated in a book if it abound with what they consider useful knowledge and if the religious matter cannot be expurgated."

In a bookstore Dr. McGowan found a Japanese reprint of a book on the Law of Storms that he had published in China. In the original edition, after the author's name had been printed, "American Christian Physician"; but the Japanese had left out the ideographs

for "Christian." Other works prepared in China gained considerable circulation in Japan. Dr. McGowan wrote:

> "There are probably few if any books published by missionaries in China on secular affairs that have not been re-published by the knowledge-loving Japanese. The largest work of the kind is from the pen of the senior missionary in China, Dr. Bridgman,—a geographical and statistical account of America issued some twenty years ago. To that book the Japanese are indebted for their knowledge of our country—a knowledge so precise as to excite surprise."

He suggests that this work may have prepared the way for the success of Commodore Perry. As will be seen in a later chapter, Joseph Neesima was among those reading Dr. Bridgman's book about the time of which Dr. McGowan writes. He who would understand the causes that have produced the New Japan ought not to overlook the important preparatory work that was done by the missionaries in China in giving to the young men of the island empire so many new and inspiring ideas.

III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS IN JAPAN

1859-1873

EARLY in 1859, the Mission Board of the American Episcopal Church appointed Rev. John Liggins and Rev. C. M. Williams, both of whom were missionaries in China, to open work in Japan, "requesting them to remove to that empire, and to enter upon the missionary work there immediately after receiving these instructions."

When Mr. Liggins learned of this appointment, he was already in Japan, whither he had gone to recover from the effects of a fever and from injuries inflicted by a Chinese mob. He arrived at Nagasaki, May 2, 1859. This was two months before the provisions of the treaty permitted residence; but through the assistance of the United States Consul he secured permission to remain, and obtained a house in which to live. He was soon joined by Mr. Williams.

Mr. Liggins found that the teaching of English afforded one of the best opportunities for usefulness. He soon had a class of eight government interpreters. As the Christian Scriptures were prohibited, he thought that "missionaries must be content to circulate scientific works containing an admixture of Christianity." By August he had sold or given away one hundred and fifty copies of such books. He wrote:

> "I look upon these geographical, historical, and scientific works prepared by the missionaries in Chinese as the pioneer literature for Japan; and as works in Chinese are understood by all well-educated Japanese, these works are destined to be eminently useful in doing away with this people's misconception of Christianity and thus preparing the way for the circulation of the Scriptures."

October 18, 1859, J. C. Hepburn, M.D., of the American Presbyterian Board, landed with his wife in Kanagawa; and in November, Rev. Samuel R. Brown and D. B. Simmons, M.D., both of the Reformed Church in America, reached the same port. Mr. Brown and Dr. Hepburn had, several years before this, been for short periods missionaries in China.

The three boards that had been urged by Dr. Williams, Mr. Syle, and Chaplain Wood, to begin work in Japan had thus quickly responded to the appeal. Dr. Williams afterwards wrote: "I do not know that better men could be found to begin missionary efforts than Brown, Hepburn, and Liggins."*

One reason why it had been deemed appropriate that the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America should engage in this new enterprise, was because it was thought that it would be able to profit by the relations that had previously existed between Holland and Japan. This consideration made the missionary board of that church desire to send out some one whose birth in Holland made Dutch his mother tongue. Such a person was found in a young man named Guido F. Verbeck, who was about to graduate from the theological seminary in Auburn, N. Y. He accepted the invitation of the Reformed Board, accompanied Messrs. Brown and Simmons as far as Shanghai, and reached Nagasaki, November 7. The families of Messrs. Brown, Simmons, and Verbeck, remained for a while in Shanghai, whence they proceeded in December to Japan.

Though the names of some of the first missionaries will frequently appear in the following narrative, it may be well to add here a few notes concerning the six men to whom was given the honour of inaugurating the work of Protestant missions in Japan.

Rev. John Liggins was born at Nuneaton in Warwickshire, England, May 11, 1829. In 1841, he removed to Philadelphia, Pa. He graduated in 1855, from the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Alexandria, Va. In November of the same year he

* "Life and Letters," p. 325.

sailed for China. The ill health that had led him to visit Japan permitted him to remain there only about ten months. Returning to America, he engaged in literary work. Among his publications were, "England's Opium Policy," "A Missionary Picture Gallery," and "The Great Value and Success of Foreign Missions." While in Nagasaki he prepared a book entitled "One Thousand Familiar Phrases in English and Japanese," which was the first book of the kind written in Japan.

Right Rev. Channing Moore Williams was born in Richmond, Va., July, 1829. He went to China at the same time with Mr. Liggins. In 1866, he was made Bishop of China and Japan. The growth of the work in the two countries, and the increasing difficulty of properly caring for so large a diocese, led to the appointment, in 1874, of another bishop for China, while Bishop Williams remained in Japan. In 1889, he resigned this charge, but continued in active work as a missionary until 1908, when he returned to America.

James Curtis Hepburn, M.D., LL.D., was born in Milton, Penn., March 13, 1815. He graduated from Princeton College in 1832, and from the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1836. In 1840, he married Miss Clara M. Leete. After graduation he practised medicine in America for a few years, and in 1841, went to Singapore as a medical missionary. Two years later he removed to Amoy. The ill health of Dr. and Mrs. Hepburn made it necessary to relinquish this work, and in 1846, they returned to America, settling in New York, where he established a lucrative practice. When Japan was opened, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions asked him to take up work in that land, and thus it was that, as we have seen, he went there in 1859. Hereafter there will be occasion to speak not only of his medical work, but also of his literary labours in the preparation of tracts, in the translation of the Scriptures, and in lexicography. In 1892, he retired from the work and returned to America. Perhaps no other missionary in Japan gained to so great a degree the esteem of all classes of people, Japanese and foreign. The *Japan Mail* spoke of him

as "a man whose name will be remembered with respect and affection as long as Yokohama has annals. . . . The beauty of his character, his untiring charity, his absolute self-negation, and his steady zeal in the cause of everything good, constitute a picture which could not fail to appeal to the Japanese people." On his ninetieth birthday, in 1905, the Emperor of Japan conferred upon him the decoration of the Third Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun.

Rev. Samuel Rollins Brown, D.D., was born in East Windsor, Conn., June 16, 1810. His father was a carpenter; his mother wrote the well-known hymn, "I love to steal awhile away." While he was still young, his parents removed to Monson, Mass., where his childhood was spent. He graduated from Yale College in 1832. He was accepted by the American Board for service in China; but as lack of funds made it impossible to send him, he went in 1838 to that country as a teacher for the Morrison Education Society, which had been established there by Christian merchants. After eight years he returned to the United States on account of Mrs. Brown's poor health. He took with him for education in America three Chinese lads, one of them being Yung Wing, who afterwards did so much to promote education among his countrymen. Dr. Brown established a private academy in Owasco Outlet, N. Y., and also was pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in the same town. Going to Japan in 1859, he remained until 1879. He died at Monson, June 20, 1880. Besides other literary work, he was the chairman of the committee that had in charge the translation of the New Testament, and he shared with Drs. Hepburn and Greene the chief responsibility in that work. He will, however, be specially remembered as a teacher; for in Japan, as previously in China, he taught many young men who have since held prominent places in the religious, official, and business worlds. He inherited his mother's poetical genius, and was also a gifted musician. His biography has been published by Rev. W. E. Griffis, D.D., under the title, "A Maker of the New Orient."

D. B. Simmons, M.D., resigned from the mission of

the Reformed Board in 1860. He continued to practise Medicine in Yokohama until 1882.

Rev. Guido Fridolin Verbeck, D.D., was born January 23, 1830, in Zeist, Province of Utrecht, Netherlands. His father was burgomaster of Zeist. The son was educated as a civil engineer, and about 1852 went to pursue his profession in America. Believing, after a time, that he was called to the ministry, he entered the Theological Seminary at Auburn, N. Y., where he graduated in 1859. In April of the same year he was married to Miss Maria Manton of Philadelphia, and soon after sailed from New York for Japan. Like the other early missionaries, he found that the teaching of English afforded the first opportunities for usefulness. His success with his pupils led to his being invited to take charge of an English school that the Government established in Nagasaki. With the consent of his Board, he accepted the position, and in 1869 removed to Tokyo, where for four years he was connected with what later became the Imperial University. During this period and afterwards, he was constantly called upon to advise the Government in educational matters. His connection with the Government continued until 1878. All of this time he continued to preach and engage in other forms of religious work. In 1877, he received the Third Class decoration of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun. In 1891, the Government showed its further appreciation of what he had done by granting a special passport that gave him and his family the right to travel or reside in any part of Japan in the same manner as subjects of the country. One reason for this was that Dr. Verbeck was "a man without a country," having lost his citizenship in Holland and never having been naturalised in America. Hence, he could not claim protection from any foreign legation. After leaving the employ of the Government, he taught in a theological school, engaged in direct evangelistic work, and helped in the translation of the Scriptures. The excellent translation of the Psalms is a monument to his industry and ability. He died March 10, 1898. The Emperor sent a gift of five hundred *yen* for the expenses of the funeral, which was attended

by a representative of the Imperial Court and many other officials. The city government of Tokyo presented his family with a perpetual lease of the plot where his body was buried. Dr. Verbeck's biography has also been published by Dr. Griffis.

The wives of those of the above missionaries who were married deserve mention; but, as is so often the case, the materials for such notice are not easily found, and their work was not of such a kind as obtained much public record. Whatever success attended the labours of their husbands was doubtless due in large part to these noble women, and they should share with their husbands the honour that belongs to these missionary pioneers.

In a historical sketch prepared for the Missionary Conference held at Osaka in 1883, Dr. Verbeck quoted as follows from various reports that described the conditions under which the early missionaries laboured:

"The missionaries soon found that they were regarded with great suspicion and closely watched, and all intercourse with them was conducted under strict surveillance."

"No teacher could be obtained at Kanagawa until March, 1860, and then only a spy in the employment of the Government. A proposal to translate the Scriptures caused his frightened withdrawal."

"The efforts of the missionaries for several years, owing to the surveillance exercised by the Government, were mostly confined to the acquisition of the language."

"We found the natives not at all accessible touching religious matters. When such a subject was mooted in the presence of a Japanese, his hand would almost involuntarily be applied to his throat, to indicate the extreme perilousness of such a topic. If on such an occasion more than one happened to be present, the natural shyness of these people became, if possible, still more apparent; for you will remember that there was then little confidence between man and man, chiefly owing to the abominable system of secret espionage, which we found in full swing when we first arrived and, indeed, for several years after."

"The missionaries shared with the other foreign residents in the alarms incident to a disturbed state of the country, and were sometimes exposed to insult and even to assault."

"The swaggering *samurai*, armed with two swords, cast many a scowling look at the hated foreigners, whom they would gladly have expelled from their sacred soil."

At first it was the common impression that the Japanese language could be easily learned. It was afterwards found to be one of the most difficult in the world. The colloquial language differs much from that used in books. The civilisation of old Japan came largely from China, and with it came the Chinese ideographs and a large number of words. Speaking roughly, it may be said that it was necessary to learn two ancient Chinese dialects in addition to the original Japanese language. The use of the ideographs was, indeed, a help to those who had learned them in China, while to others they added greatly to the difficulties of study. Dr. Hepburn has said that at first the only help possessed by the missionaries in the way of books was the vocabulary translated from the Dutch by Dr. Medhurst. After a while Hoffman's Grammar of the Japanese language was sent to them, a few leaves at a time. No teachers could be obtained, and so new words were picked up from servants, carpenters, visitors, and others. After a year, a man offered to teach Japanese in exchange for instruction in English. When, however, the translation of Matthew was begun, the man, after completing the first chapter, refused to do any more, saying that it would cost him his life.*

Townsend Harris, who was now the United States Minister, continued to show a deep interest in Christian work. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, the well-known missionary in China, who visited Japan in 1859, wrote:

"Mr. Harris received of me more than one hundred geographies (for which he paid) for distribution among officials, and asked me to send him Bibles for the same purpose. Still he thinks it best for missionaries to confine themselves to the sale of books, as the only safe ground."

Dr. Martin himself has had no small part in the evangelisation of Japan. A book ("Tendosogen") on the evidences of Christianity, which he wrote for the Chinese, was among those early brought to Japan, where many thousand copies have been sold.

Mention has already been made of Mr. Jonathan

* *Japan Weekly Mail*, September 3, 1892.

Goble, who was a marine in Perry's expedition. On his return he lectured on Japan in America and England. After this, he spent some time in study and then, with his wife, went to Japan under the auspices of the American Baptist Free Mission Society,* landing in Kanagawa April 1, 1860. The Southern Baptist Convention, in 1860, appointed three men as missionaries to Japan. Two of these—Rev. J. Q. Rohrer and Rev. A. L. Bond—with their wives, sailed from New York in a ship of which nothing more was ever heard. The third—Rev. C. H. Toy—afterwards became a Unitarian, and a professor in Harvard Divinity School. The breaking out of the Civil War in America prevented further attempts to establish this Mission.†

In 1861, the English Bishop of Victoria, who had re-

* This society seems for some reason to have afforded only a scanty support to Mr. Goble. In a memorial of his wife he says that, being detained two months in San Francisco, "the young missionaries were only saved from penury by working with their own hands to supply their daily wants. . . . They lived first in Kanagawa for two years, during which time they were in deep poverty, much in debt, mending shoes to get a little food, the husband and father watching five weeks, night and day without cessation, at the sick-bed of his apparently dying wife, whose illness was brought on by poor diet and living in a miserable little native house." They returned to America, where they received appointment from the Baptist Missionary Union and were sent to Japan in company with Dr. Nathan Brown; but these relations were soon severed and Mr. Goble became an independent missionary. He remained in Japan until after the death in May, 1882, of Mrs. Goble. Going to America, he died there in May, 1898. Mr. Goble early translated the Gospel of Matthew into colloquial Japanese. At one time he was in the employ of the American Bible Society and adopted methods by which the sales of the Scriptures were greatly increased. He was the inventor of the *jinrikisha*. His wife being in poor health, he wished to obtain some means of conveyance for her. In talking over the matter with a Japanese carpenter, it was decided to make a wheeled vehicle. Mr. Goble found on the cover of a *Godey's Lady's Book* an advertisement of baby-carriages. With some changes, the pictures furnished the model for the first *jinrikisha*, which, though not so light and handsome as those of later days, answered its purpose. The *jinrikisha* has been claimed as a purely Japanese invention, but those first made showed plainly that they were an adaptation of a Western vehicle.

† Hervey, "The Story of Baptist Missions," p. 537.

cently visited Japan, wrote to the British and Foreign Bible Society that all the Protestant missionaries there concurred "in the view that it is highly impolitic and inexpedient in the present temper of the Japanese Government to attempt any distribution of a Japanese version of the Holy Scriptures among the people." He says that, "at first, both at Kanagawa and Nagasaki, efforts were made by the custom-house native authorities to compel the missionaries to deliver up all Christian books." Mr. Liggins, who was then in America, wrote in reply to the implication of these statements that he had sold, before the Bishop's visit, sixty copies of the Chinese Scriptures and books wholly religious, besides two thousand magazines, partly religious and partly secular. A letter from Mr. Verbeck to Mr. Liggins said: "I have lately sold sixty copies of a new work which contains a complete summary of Christian truth," while Mr. Brown wrote that he had sold two hundred copies of the New Testament. Mr. Liggins, after drawing attention to the fact that the American treaty allowed the Japanese to buy anything Americans might wish to sell, except opium and firearms, says that Mr. Harris told him that he had the "article worded as it is expressly to cover the sale of Scriptures and other Christian books by the missionaries, and that he should interfere at once if there were any attempt to violate it."

A letter written by Mr. Liggins in 1861, and published in *The Spirit of Missions*, gives a good summary of the situation in Japan at that time:

"As some persons, because Japan is not open to missionary labours to the extent they wish it was, speak as if it were not opened at all, it seems necessary to state what missionaries can do at the present time in that country.

"1. They can procure native books and native teachers by which to acquire the language, and of course, the acquisition of the language is, during the first few years, a principal part of their duty.

"2. They can, as they are able, prepare philological works to enable subsequent missionaries and others to acquire the language with much less labour and in much less time than they themselves have to give to it; and each, in the course of a few years, may make his contribution towards a complete version of the Holy Scriptures in the Japanese language.

"3. They can furnish the Japanese, who are anxious to learn English, with suitable books in that language, and thus greatly facilitate social and friendly intercourse between the two races.

"4. They can dispose by sale of a large number of the historical, geographical, and scientific works prepared by the Protestant missionaries in China. Faithful histories of Christian countries tend to disarm prejudice and to recommend the religion of the Bible; while works on true science are very useful in a country where astrology, geomancy, and many false teachings on scientific subjects generally, are so interwoven with their religious beliefs.

"5. They can sell the Scriptures, and religious books and tracts in the Chinese language, and thus engage in *direct* missionary work. As books in this language are understood by every educated Japanese, and as the sale of them is provided for by an article in the treaty, we have here a very available means of at once conveying religious truth to the minds of the Japanese.

"6. They can by their Christian walk and conversation, by acts of benevolence to the poor and afflicted, and by kindness and courtesy to all, weaken and dispel the prejudices against them, and convince the observant Japanese that true Christianity is something very different from what intriguing Jesuits of former days, and unprincipled traders and profane sailors of the present day, would lead them to think it is.

"*Living epistles* of Christianity are as much needed in Japan as written ones; and it would be very sad if either were withheld through a mistaken idea that Japan 'is not open to missionary labour.'

"Just after the signing of the Treaties, the statement of some was: 'Japan is fully opened to the spread of Christianity.' This the writer opposed at the time as contrary to the facts of the case; and he has now endeavoured to show that it is equally erroneous to assert, as some do, that it is not opened at all. What the writer has said on the subject is not the result of hearsay or of a flying visit to Japan; but of an experience in the work during the ten months that he resided in the country. This experience convinces him, that if missionaries faithfully embrace the openings which there are already, others will speedily be made; and the time will soon come when it may be said with truth, 'Japan is fully opened to the spread of Christianity.'

"But perhaps it may be asked: 'Is it not still a law that a native who professes Christianity shall be put to death?' To this an affirmative answer must be given; but it should be remembered that another law was passed at the same time which declared that any Japanese who returned to his native country after having been for any cause whatever in any foreign country should be put to death. As this latter law, though unrepealed, is not executed, so it is believed that the law against professing Christianity will in like manner not be enforced.

"In conversing with Mr. Harris, the United States Minister

at Yedo, on this subject, he stated that he had used every endeavour to have this obnoxious law repealed, but without success; a principal reason being that the Government feared that it would form a pretext for the old conservative party to overthrow the Government and again get into power.

"'I do not believe,' said Mr. Harris, 'after all that the other foreign ministers and myself have said on the subject, that this law will ever be enforced; but if it should be, even in a single instance, there will come such an earnest protest from myself and the representatives of the other Western Powers that there will not likely be a repetition of it.'

"The non-repeal of this law, therefore, while it is a matter of regret, is nevertheless not to be adduced as a proof that Japan is still closed to missionary effort, but only as a reason for a prudent course of procedure on the part of the missionaries."

Whatever the laws may have been, the Government seemed to have little fear of the missionaries, for in 1861 it sent a number of young men from Yedo to Kanagawa that they might be taught English by them.

While there were few opportunities for direct religious work among the Japanese, the needs of the European population were not forgotten. Services were held in the consulates or in private houses. In 1862, there was erected in Nagasaki, "the first Protestant church ever built in Japan," where Mr. Williams conducted services, attended by foreign residents, and where he hoped that in time he might be able to hold meetings for Japanese. In 1863, there was organised among Americans in Kanagawa and Yokohama, the "First Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in Japan," one of whose members is said to have been a Japanese,* perhaps "Sam Patch." Dr. S. R. Brown became the pastor of this church, which did not long continue in existence. The same year a church building, where services were conducted by the Chaplain of the British Legation, was erected in Yokohama. The "union services" hitherto held were suspended for a while, but soon resumed at the American Consulate.

In November, 1864, occurred the first recorded baptism on Japanese soil of a Protestant Christian. Rev. J. H. Ballagh has given the following account of this person.

* *Missionary Herald*, 1864, p. 69.

"Yano Riuzan, a shaven-headed Buddhist, a *yabu-isha* or quack doctor, who held an inferior position, was selected by the Shogun's Council of State for a language teacher for Dr. S. R. Brown. On my arrival, November 11th, 1861, he became my teacher. With him I undertook the translation of St. John, more to translate the Gospel into him than for the use of others. In the summer of 1864 he became quite weak. I was impressed with a failure of duty and asked him if he would be willing for me to seek a blessing upon our translation. On his consenting, I made my first impromptu Japanese prayer, which seemed to impress him much and which made a remarkable impression on me. One day, while explaining a picture of the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch, he suddenly said to me: 'I want to be baptised; I want to be baptised because Christ commanded it.' I warned him of the law against Christianity and the fact that, even should he escape, his son might not. The son, being consulted, said that whatever would please his father should be done On the first Sabbath in November his baptism took place in the presence of his wife, son, and daughter."*

The next baptisms were those of Murata Wakasa and Ayabe in Nagasaki, May, 1866. The story of their conversion sounds like a romance. Wakasa was born in 1815, and on reaching manhood became a minister (*karo*) of the Daimyo of Saga. He was a man of unusual stature; his grandson asserts that he was seven feet in height and therefore was obliged to have a house made specially for him, since he was so much inconvenienced by the low rooms of ordinary Japanese buildings. When, in 1855, some French and English vessels anchored in the bay of Nagasaki, Wakasa was put in charge of a patrol appointed to watch the movements of the foreign ships. One day he noticed something floating upon the water and sent one of his men to pick it up. It proved to be a book printed in some unknown language. After Wakasa's return to Saga, he became so curious to know what was in the book that he sent one of his retainers to Nagasaki, professedly to study medicine, but really to inquire about the contents of the book. He thus discovered that it was a Dutch translation of the New Testament, the book on which the re-

*25th Annual Report of the Council of Missions, p. 154. Yano, who was confined to his bed at the time of the baptism, died a few weeks later.

ligion of Europeans was founded.* A while after, he learned that a Chinese translation of the book had been made, and he therefore sent a man to Shanghai to purchase a copy. With four other persons, one of whom was his younger brother, Ayabe, he then began an earnest study of the book. In the autumn of 1862, Ayabe went to Nagasaki to see if any of the foreigners there could explain some portions that had been difficult to understand. While there he met Dr. Verbeck, who gladly answered his questions. The following spring, Ayabe again appeared and warned Dr. Verbeck that the latter's life was in danger, as a company of young men had formed a conspiracy for assassinating him. In consequence of this warning, Dr. Verbeck found it advisable to withdraw with his family to China for a few months. On his return to Nagasaki he found that Ayabe had received an appointment that removed him to another part of the country; but soon after this, Wakasa sent one of his servants, named Motono, with a new set of questions. Dr. Verbeck now became, though in a roundabout way, the teacher of the little Bible-class, for Motono would frequently come from Saga, a journey occupying about two days, bringing a list of questions to which answers were desired, and after receiving Dr. Verbeck's explanations would return with them to Saga.

In May, 1866, Dr. Verbeck was informed that some high officials from the province of Hizen (in which Saga is situated) desired to come in two parties to meet him. He writes:

"Accordingly, on the afternoon of the fifteenth of May, my visitor presented himself with a retinue of about thirty men, consisting of a number of attendant officers who quite filled my parlour, and of a greater number of common retainers, all two-sworded, who had to content themselves with an outside view of our premises. . . . My principal visitor proved to be no less a personage than a relative of the Prince of Hizen. . . . After the usual introductory compliments, the absorbing topic of the 'Doctrine' was entered upon with a good deal of interest. I may say that I reasoned with him of 'righteousness, temperance, and

* *The Japan Evangelist* for July, 1904, says of this Testament that it was "still in possession of his family," and that his grandson was a member of the Saga Lutheran Church.

judgment to come,' but I could hardly bring him and his attendant to dwell on the higher topics of faith, hope, and love; for my august visitor insisted on reasoning concerning the unprofitable subjects of the origin of evil in the world, the mysterious permission of the continuance of evil, the justice of God or the apparent want of it under various aspects, and more of the like. I was prepared for his arguments, as I have found that on heathen ground we are often obliged to rehandle the bones of contention of the church of old, but my principal endeavour was to get him to see the wickedness and danger of all evil; that it is infinitely more important to know how to be now and forever saved from it than to know all about its origin and yet be left helpless; that it is vastly more worthy of our thought to know how we are to escape hell and gain heaven than to find out the exact location of either, if such a thing were possible. Yet my efforts to lead him to higher views at the time were vain. . . .

"The interview of the other parties was arranged to take place on the seventeenth of May. My visitors on this occasion were Wakasa, one of the ministers of state or governors of the principality of Hizen, and his younger brother Ayabe. Wakasa was a tall man, about forty-five years of age and looking older. His is one of those faces that make sunshine in a shady place, most pleasing and amiable in expression, with a very dignified bearing. His eyes beamed love and pleasure as I met him He said he had long known me in his mind, had long desired to see and converse with me, and that he was very happy that now in God's providence he was permitted to do so. . . .

"At this time there were admitted to our parlour Wakasa, Ayabe, Wakasa's two sons, young men of twenty and twenty-two respectively, and the servant, Motono, who had acted the part of messenger between us for four years. How different was this meeting from that of two days before! These men, like those of Berea in the Apostles' time, had received the Word with all readiness of mind and did not come to puzzle themselves or me with unprofitable controversies, but asked several quite natural and sensible questions to gain additional light on some points in reference principally to Christian character and customs. They had been taught of the Spirit.

"They showed great familiarity with their Bibles, made several pertinent quotations, and when during the conversation I referred them to sacred passages, they readily identified them and always accepted them as conclusive proofs. They were prepared to believe all that Jesus said and to do all that He required. It must be remembered that these men had been studying the Scriptures and reading a great variety of religious books with great diligence for at least four years, having begun to do so with a favourable disposition of mind. Like perhaps most of the higher classes in this country, they had no faith in Buddhism, the religion of the common people, while at the same time they were graciously withheld from falling into the opposite of a total atheism. Their

minds were in a state of expectant transition when, just in time, they were led to search for and find salvation through faith in Christ.

"We spent a delightful afternoon in conversing on the saving power and love of Christ, and just as I thought my friends were about to leave me, Wakasa took me by surprise by enquiring if I would object to baptising him and his brother Ayabe before they left town. I was surprised because so many Japanese had at different times talked to me of the great peril of becoming Christians in the full sense of the word. I had expected from these men to hear something as follows: 'We believe and would like to be baptised; but we cannot think of realising our wish in this one particular so long as the law of the land hangs the inevitable sword over the heads of all who dare to change their religion; for the present we must remain as we are, but when this cruel edict is repealed, we will come forward for baptism.'

"I warned my visitors not to think lightly of the act and not to entertain superstitious notions concerning its efficacy; I urged the solemn importance of the sacrament and the great obligations which devolve on those to whom it is administered; I repeated the questions which, according to our form, they would have to answer with a hearty affirmative; and finally told them to decide, as if in the presence of God who searches the heart. They listened attentively and repeated their desire to be baptised, requesting only that it should be done and kept in secret.

"The following Lord's Day, the Day of Pentecost [May 20], was chosen, the hour selected being seven o'clock, P. M. Wakasa, whose position did not permit him to move about the streets without a half-dozen followers, and who could not visit me without making himself conspicuous, I did not see again until the appointed hour on Sunday night; but Ayabe came to me twice during the intervening days, and I gave him such instructions for himself and his brother as I thought might be useful to them.

"At last, when the Sabbath evening came, the two candidates presented themselves, attended into the room by none but Motono. The retinue, consisting of eight followers, was dismissed at our door with orders to return in an hour. I had arranged everything beforehand to avoid unnecessary detention. The shutters were closed, the lamps lit, a white cloth spread on the centre-table, a large cut-glass fruit-dish, for want of anything better, prepared to serve as a font. Besides Motono, my wife was the only witness present, so that there were but five persons in the room. I began by reading Matthew twenty-eight, then dwelt on the concluding verses, spoke of the purpose of missionary societies, and referred to the bearing of the words of Jesus upon our present meeting. I exhorted them not to be discouraged in their peculiarly difficult situation, but rather, by a life of faith, of love, and of holiness, to disarm all the criticism of their neighbours and even persecution itself. We then united in prayer

both in English and Japanese, proceeded with our liturgy, translating *ex tempore* the form for baptism; and after the administration of the sacrament, concluded with prayer and thanksgiving." *

On reaching home, Wakasa and Ayabe reported to their Daimyo what they had done. He left them unmolested. In some way Wakasa's conversion became known to the Central Government, and the Daimyo was ordered to punish him. Nothing was done, however, except to burn some of Wakasa's books.

Soon after this Dr. Verbeck removed to Tokyo, and thus had no more direct dealings with Wakasa. The latter soon retired from active life to his country villa, where he spent much of his time in translating the Bible from Chinese into Japanese. He died in 1874, with a firm faith in his Saviour.

Though it is in anticipation of our narrative, it may be well here to give some further intelligence of Wakasa's family. In 1880, Rev. Mr. Booth of Nagasaki noticed in his audience on Sunday morning two strangers, one of whom was evidently a woman of high rank. They gave close attention to his address, and their eyes often filled with tears. At the close of the service they introduced themselves, one being Wakasa's daughter and the other her former nurse. They had learned from Wakasa the Lord's Prayer and some other portions of Scripture that he had written out for them in simple characters. The daughter had married and was living in Nagasaki; but she was acquainted with no Christians there. She was about to remove with her husband to Osaka, and desired to receive baptism before going there. Therefore, she had sent to Saga for her old nurse, and they had attempted to find some Christian teacher. They at first fell in with a Roman Catholic priest, who gave them a prayer-book; but on examination, its teaching did not seem to them like that which they had before received. They were afraid to make enquiries, fearing that they would be insulted as suspected followers of Christianity. After wandering about the city for some days, they saw a shop where the characters on the covers of the books

* Dr. Verbeck's letter in "Manual of the Missions of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America."

seemed familiar. On opening one volume, they found the Sermon on the Mount, and recognised its words. They purchased several books and had a long talk with the bookseller, who, as it was Saturday, told them where they could find a Christian service the next day.

As both asked for baptism, Mr. Booth asked their reason for desiring it. "'Whosever believeth and is baptised shall be saved,'" they quoted. When he said: "How can I know that you are true believers?" the younger woman replied: "It has been my custom for years to go into my husband's storehouse every day for private meditation and prayer to God and the Father of Jesus Christ." "How do you know that this salvation is for you?" "It is written: 'Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.'" After some days had been spent in instructing the women, the rite was administered. The younger woman's husband was present, paying close attention to the service and afterwards expressing a desire to know more about Christianity.

The nurse soon returned to Saga, where she resumed her work of teaching a small school for girls. She also organised a Bible-class for women, and its members soon became the teachers of a Sunday school. Though she is no longer living, the influence of her work still remains in Saga. Among the believers there was a son of Wakasa. The daughter, who removed to Osaka and later to Tokyo, became prominent in religious and philanthropic work. Her husband also became a Christian.

At the close of a meeting held in Tokyo about 1883, a man stepped forward and said to Dr. Verbeck: "I am Ayabe. Since my baptism I have been in the army and also employed in surveying. During all these years I have always carried the Bible with me, and I have been accustomed to read it daily." The next day he came with his only daughter, about fifteen years old, asking that she be baptised. At one time he was a local preacher in the Methodist Church.

In the early part of the same year that saw Wakasa's baptism, Bishop Williams administered the same rite to a man named Shiomura, who belonged in the province of Higo. Dr. Verbeck had three other earnest requests

for baptism, but did not think it best to consent. In 1868, he baptised a young Buddhist priest named Shimizu. The next year this man was cast into prison because of his faith, and he suffered in various prisons for the next five years. In 1868, also, Mr. Ballagh baptised Awazu Komei; and in 1869, Mr. Thompson baptised Ogawa Yoshiyasu, Suzuki Kojiro, and an old woman. Mr. Ogawa afterwards became one of the most prominent ministers of the Church of Christ in Japan (Presbyterian). In 1871, Mr. Ensor, at the Church Missionary Society's station in Nagasaki, baptised a man named Nimura. Thus the whole number of recorded baptisms before the spring of 1872 was ten, evenly divided between the eastern and western parts of the country.

In 1866, there was sent forth from Yokohama the following address:

"Yokohama, Japan, 14th Jan., 1866.

"BRETHREN IN CHRIST:

"A little company of believers of several nationalities residing here have for the last seven days been observing the concert for prayer with you of other lands, and whilst assembled this evening to supplicate the throne of grace in behalf of this heathen nation it was unanimously resolved to appoint a committee to issue an address to God's people throughout the world, asking their prayers in a special manner for Japan.

"In order that the ground of this request may be better understood, permit us succinctly to state the circumstances in which we find ourselves here at the present time. There are now Protestant missionaries representing three or four branches of the Church of Christ in this country. Two of these are at Nagasaki and the remainder at this port. Most of these have been here since 1859, or more than six years. They see marked changes in many things since their arrival.

"At first, the prejudice and suspicion of the rulers of this country led them, for some time, frequently to send *posses* of officers to the houses of the missionaries, ostensibly as friends calling upon friends, but really as spies, to find out for what object these non-trading people had come to Japan. But for more than three years past, such domiciliary visits have entirely ceased. The first decisive symptom of the abatement of suspicions on the part of the Government was the sending of about a dozen young men of rank from Yedo to Kanagawa to be taught English by one of the missionaries. More recently the Governors of Nagasaki and this place authorised schools to be opened for a similar purpose un-

der their auspices, and the Protestant missionaries were invited to take charge of them. One missionary at Nagasaki has, during the last year, devoted three or four hours a day to the school there. The school at Yokohama has over fifty members, and for more than two years past, three and sometimes four of the missionaries have been engaged in it, teaching an hour or two each day. A large supply of American school-books has been imported by the Governor for this school, and the teachers have in no wise been restricted as to the manner or matter of their teaching. Through the use of these foreign school-books more or less of Christian truth is almost daily brought into contact with the minds of the pupils, and has been freely made the subject of explanation and remark in classes. The effect of this is manifest in the unhesitating manner in which the pupils make enquiries and seek information on religious subjects, and in the frequent expression given to Christian facts and doctrines in their school exercise. Four years ago, when copies of a book entitled the 'Christian Reader' were bought of a missionary by some young men who were desirous to learn English, they at once erased the word 'Christian' from the title-page and cover, for fear that it would be noticed by others and bring them into trouble. Now a considerable number of those who have been under instruction have purchased copies of the Scriptures for their own use. In the schoolrooms and in our houses there is no reluctance to speak, and many do speak from day to day, of God, of Christ, and Christianity. The name of Jesus is no longer uttered with bated breath. Some of the wives of missionaries also have interesting classes of Japanese boys under their instruction in English, with great success.

"A medical missionary has a dispensary thronged with patients from day to day, where the Ten Commandments and passages of Scripture in Japanese are hung upon the walls and read by the patients.

"Again, the *Gorojiu* or Council of State at Yedo is now making arrangements to erect extensive buildings in that city for a school in which some hundred young men of the higher classes are to be taught in an English and a French department, and the Protestant missionaries have been requested to take charge of the former. These facts will enable you to see to what extent the Japanese have come to repose confidence in the missionaries. Meantime the members of the several missions have applied themselves to the study of Japanese, endeavouring to make their labours in this direction available to those who may come after them, by publishing works for this purpose, and a Japanese-English Dictionary containing some 40,000 words is now nearly ready for the press. Most, if not all of them, have for a good while past been at work upon the translation of the Bible, so that, by a few months of co-operative labour, they would be ready to publish at least the four Gospels in Japanese.

"Contrary to the general expectations, it has been found that

the Japanese generally do not entertain a feeling of hostility to foreigners, nor are they bigoted in religious matters. They even pride themselves upon being less stiff and more liberal in the latter respect than the Chinese. Those who belong to the class called *samurai*, who alone are eligible to civil or military office, manifest much eagerness to gain a knowledge of Western languages, sciences, and arts. Some of those who have been or are now studying English are in the habit of going daily to the missionaries' houses, in groups of from two to three to six or seven, to read the English Bible, preferring this to the study of school-books. These intelligent young men frequently express their earnest desire that the day may soon come when all their countrymen shall have the Holy Scriptures and the free political institutions of which they are the basis. They despise the Buddhist creed and the Buddhist priest.

"One of the first teachers employed by the missionaries in 1860 recently died in the assurance that he was about to be with Jesus. He had, at his own request, been baptised in his own house and in the presence of his own family, with their full consent. Thus the first fruit of the Gospel in Japan, at least in our time, has been gathered into the garner of God.

Here, then, we are, in the presence of this great heathen population, estimated by themselves to number 32,000,000 and you may ask: 'What hinders the Gospel from being freely and publicly preached?' This is the question that presses us at this moment and urges us to ask your prayers for this people.

"This Government is in some respects a strong one. In consequence of what occurred with the Jesuits and monks of former times it took the most stringent measures to efface the very name of Christian (Kiristan) as that of a crafty usurper from the memory of its subjects, or else to make it the symbol of whatever is dangerous and detestable. Unfortunately the Jesuits did not leave the Bible in Japan when they were banished from the country, else the condition of things here now might have borne more resemblance to that in Madagascar. But now, every man, woman, and child must be registered at some Buddhist or Shinto temple, or be denied a decent burial. Thus every Japanese is in the grasp of an iron hand, the hand of the Government. There is no evidence that the old edicts against Christians have been revoked; no proclamation from the Government as yet assures the people that they would not be treated as criminals worthy of the death-penalty, should they be suspected of favouring the Christian religion. The missionary might or might not suffer from the offence of preaching, but his hearers would. Here then we hesitate, and desire to know the divine will and our duty. We would neither be cowardly nor rash. We call upon our brethren in Christ to pray that this last obstacle may be removed,—that the Treaty Powers represented in Japan may be inclined to do what Christian governments ought to do in this behalf,—that the spirit of God may move the rulers of Japan to

proclaim liberty to their subjects, liberty to hear and read the word of God,—and thus that speedily these everlasting doors may be lifted up and the King of Glory may come in. May we not hope that those whom this address reaches will remember this object in their families, and closets, and meetings for prayer, and that it will be specially inserted among the subjects forming the programme for the Week of Prayer in the opening of the year 1867?"

One result of this address was that great interest was aroused among supporters of the Church Missionary Society of England. One person, who withheld his name, sent to the Society a contribution of four thousand pounds to form the nucleus of a special fund for Japan, and three years after the address was issued, the Society sent out its first representative, Rev. George Ensor, who arrived at Nagasaki in January, 1869.

In connection with the study of English there was more willingness to read the Bible. In 1867, Mr. Ballagh spoke of furnishing twenty-four Bibles to one of his pupils, who intended to use them for a school in Yedo, where he taught the retainers of a certain daimyo. "This pupil told me on his last visit," wrote Mr. Ballagh, "that he intended to explain the Scriptures regularly every Sabbath to his prince's servants." In the same letter he says that Mr. Goble had just gone to Nagasaki "and entered the employ of a prince, who stipulates that he shall teach Christianity." * Mr. Goble himself wrote:

"I am as busy as I can be, teaching school, editing a native paper, and doing a little at translating. I am engaged by the Prince of Tosa to lay the foundation of an English college; and in prosecution of this plan we expect to go up into the country of Tosa to live. We are getting a font of Japanese type cast, and expect soon to be able to print Bibles, tracts, books, and papers, with press and movable types. The English, Dutch, and Chinese versions of the Bible are already introduced as a reading-book in our school. Some of the pupils have of their own accord asked to be admitted to family worship, and others ask particular instruction in the Christian religion. One of the latter is a high officer of state to the Prince." †

On the other hand, it was a naval officer of Tosa who, in that same year (1867), published a memorial in which

* *Missionary Herald*, 1868, p. 169.
† *Ib.*, 1867, p. 260.

he expressed his grief that the religion of Jesus was being promulgated to an alarming extent in the open ports. He declared that the foreign priests were employing gold and gifts to seduce the people and make them instruments for deluding other victims. "If we examine the fundamental principles of the religion of Jesus," he said, "we are struck by discovering that it is entirely based upon deceit, immorality, and imposition." He complained that the Buddhist priests were not exerting themselves against the danger, nearly all having "become pleasure-seekers, idle and useless beings addicted to chess-playing, reading poetry, tea-drinking, making bouquets, and given to the vices of wine and women." He said that as Buddhism had long been the main support of the Mikado's Government, "Every one who opposes Buddha and assists the religion of Jesus is the enemy of Buddha,—that is, the enemy of his country. Let him not dwell under the canopy of heaven; let him be exterminated. Help must come soon, for the fall of Buddha is very near. The fall of the Buddhist religion is the fall of the Mikado." *

January, 1868, saw the great revolution by which political power was restored to the Emperor, and a new form of government inaugurated. In May, the American Minister received a set of official gazettes, whose publication had been commenced in Kyoto. They were numbered from one to nine, with the exception that the sixth number was lacking.† As this excited curiosity, a copy of the missing number was obtained and was found to contain the following law, which was to be posted with certain others in all the towns and villages, replacing similar laws of the Shogunate.

"The evil sect called Christian is strictly prohibited. Suspicious persons should be reported to the proper officers, and rewards will be given."

The foreign representatives at once remonstrated against this edict, saying that, while they had no desire to interfere with the internal affairs of Japan, they could

* *The Phoenix*, vol. i., p. 79.
† U. S. Dip. Cor., 1868, Part 1, p. 749.

not remain indifferent to an act that cast such odium upon the religion of the nations from which they came, the publication of such an ordinance at such a time being inconsistent with the friendly feelings professed by the new Government.

The Japanese ministers replied by referring to the strong feeling that the people had against Christianity because of the troubles to which it had given rise in former years. It was generally supposed, they said, that its followers practise various magical rites connected with foxes and other objects of superstitious dread. While it was impossible to prevent men from believing whatever seemed to them true, it was necessary to prevent the open profession of Christianity and the performance of its rites. If the Government failed to prohibit Christianity, it would be accused of favouring it. They acknowledged that the insertion of the word "evil" was ill-advised, and issued new orders saying:

"In sending out the edict concerning Christianity there was unfortunately a mistake in the wording. This arose from the fact that in past times there had been the strict prohibition of Christianity and also of evil sects. The ordinance must at once be corrected so as to read:

"'The former prohibition of the Christian sect must be strictly observed.

"'Evil sects are strictly prohibited.'"

As a Japanese writer has said, "This was a very strange order. What was the mistake? Was it in calling Christianity an evil sect? If Christianity is not evil, why should it be prohibited?" * The reason for the amendment not being clear, the edict in many places was left in its first form.

Although, as related in another volume, persecution of Roman Catholic Christians in Kyushu began about this time, there were various signs that led the missionaries in Yokohama to believe that the Government would not make serious opposition to their work. Rev. D. Thompson began to preach publicly to the patients that

* "Shin Nihon Shi," vol. ii., p. 256.

came to Dr. Hepburn's dispensary. There were usually from twenty to fifty persons present, the greater number of whom listened attentively. In 1869, a Japanese who had founded in Tokyo a school with about a hundred pupils read to them the Chinese Bible and Martin's "Evidences of Christianity," though he himself was not a baptised Christian. He expressed a desire to have some missionary come and explain these books more perfectly than he himself could do.* During 1869, the demand for Bibles and other Christian books was very great. Many persons sought interviews with the missionaries; and the abbots of the principal temples desired to obtain copies of all books telling about Christianity. The next year, there were six or seven priests receiving instruction from Mr. Thompson, while Messrs. Cornes and Carrothers were teaching others.

Dr. Verbeck in his "Historical Sketch" † considered that the first school to deserve the name of a distinctly missionary institute was one begun in Tokyo about 1869, by Mr. and Mrs. Carrothers of the Presbyterian Mission. Among the pupils were a few girls, and as these increased in number, it was thought best to form them into a separate school. One student who was about to be left with the young men came to Mrs. Carrothers to say that she was a girl and had been wearing boy's clothing on account of the popular prejudice against boys and girls studying together.‡

Among the men who had been prominent in favouring intercourse with foreigners was Yokoi Heishiro, a trusted counsellor of the Daimyo of Echizen. Soon after Perry's visit to Japan, he had become a great admirer of America, and in 1866 had sent two of his nephews to the United States for education. From missionaries in Shanghai he had obtained a copy of the Bible in Chinese, and had been much impressed by its contents. He wrote to a friend: "In a few years Christianity will come to Japan and capture the hearts

* *Missionary Herald*, 1870, p. 77. This was probably Nakamura Masanao; cf. "Shin Nihon Shi," vol. i., p. 67.

† Report of Osaka Conference, p. 45.

‡ *Japan Times*, November 18, 1902.

of the best young men." He urged that men should be left free to follow whatever religion seemed to them true. At the time of the Restoration he became a counsellor of the Emperor. In February, 1869, when returning from the Palace, he was assassinated. The reason given for this act was that he was suspected of harbouring "evil opinions," meaning Christianity.*

In April, 1869, representatives of the different clans met in a deliberative assembly. They had no legislative power, but discussed various subjects. Among others

* An interesting sequel to this account of Yokoi is given in Dr. A. D. Hail's "Japan and Its Rescue." Years after the assassination, a prayer-meeting was being held in the town of Shingu preparatory to the coming observance of the Lord's Supper. A lumberman who had come from a place forty miles distant among the mountains said, after several had confessed their sins; 'I, too, have a confession to make. Before I became a Christian I used to be intensely angry towards any one who was even suspected of being a Christian. Having heard that a prominent man in Japan had some English books in his possession and a Chinese Bible, I felt that he must be a believer in Christianity. Many others, also, thought as I did. Twenty-four of us accordingly covenanted together to kill this man. We watched our opportunity, and having heard that he had come to Kyoto, we divided ourselves into squads of six and placed one squad in each road along one of which we knew he must leave the palace. I was not in the squad which slew him. When we heard, however, that the deed had been accomplished and that two of the attacking party had also been killed, we all separated and ran away. I never knew what became of the various members of the band of twenty-four. A neighbour of mine and I went to the place where we now live and have been there ever since. Now, according to the rules of Old Japan (pointing to the Christian worker that accompanied Dr. Hail), it would be that brother's duty to take my life, as he is a nephew and so a very near relative of the murdered man. It was before I knew Christ that I could contemplate such an act. I believe God has forgiven me, and I ask forgiveness of all."

He sat down weeping, and there was a time of general and deep feeling. The nephew then said: "I know that according to our old ideas I should be regarded as unfaithful and unfilial if I did not attempt at all hazards to take the life of the brother who has just spoken. But I know that what he did was done in ignorance of Christ and His Gospel. I, too, have been a great sinner; but have obtained mercy and am taught to forgive as I would be forgiven, and through Christ's grace I forgive." The next day these two sat down together, with all the brethren, at the communion table.

was that of the attitude to be assumed toward Christianity. At the request of some of the more liberal members, Dr. Verbeck prepared a paper in favour of religious toleration. On the other hand, a proposition that all foreigners entering the country should be required to trample upon the cross, found many and influential supporters.

The year 1869, saw the establishment of two new missions in Japan. The Church Missionary Society, as already mentioned, sent Rev. George Ensor and wife to Nagasaki; while Rev. D. C. Greene and wife, of the American Board, went to Tokyo (as Yedo had been re-named), whence they removed the following year to Kobe. In 1869, also, the first unmarried lady missionary came to Japan; this being Miss Mary Kidder (afterwards Mrs. E. R. Miller) of the Reformed Church. She, with Dr. and Mrs. S. R. Brown, went to Niigata, where Dr. Brown had been invited by the Japanese Government to take charge of a boys' school. Though the engagement was for three years, at the end of eight months Dr. Brown was recalled, the local government professing inability to pay his salary. Since another teacher was at once employed at nearly the same sum, the real reason for the change was probably because Dr. Brown on Sundays taught the Bible to those that cared to study it. Miss Kidder also returned to Yokohama, where she opened a girls' school under the patronage of the Governor of that city. Some of the pupils were transferred from a class for boys and girls that Mrs. Hepburn had taught since 1867. The school may be considered the foundation of the "Isaac Ferris Seminary."

Mr. Ensor had been but a month in Nagasaki when, as he wrote:

"Day by day, hour after hour, my house would be thronged with Japanese visitors, all curious to know something about England and her science and art and progress, but, most of all, about her religion. They knew that she was a power among the nations, and believed that religion and power in a state are inseparable. More serious enquirers would wait till the darkness of night, and

then steal into my house; and we used to have the doors closed and the windows barred, and as I bade them farewell when they left I scarce ever expected to see them again, for I was informed that an officer had been specially appointed to keep watch at my gate."

Some nine months later, Mr. Ensor saw hundreds of Roman Catholics being driven by his house on their way to exile. He says that one night when in an almost despairing frame of mind because of the opposition that was being shown towards Christianity:

"I was sitting by myself in my study and heard in the darkness a knock at the door. I went myself to answer it, and standing between the palm-trees of my gate, I saw the dark figure of an armed Japanese. He paused a moment, and I beckoned him to enter: and he came in and sat down, and I asked him what his business was. He replied: 'A few days ago I had a copy of the Bible in my hands, and I wish to be a Christian.' I said: 'Are you a stranger in these parts? Don't you know that thousands of your people are being detained as prisoners for this?' 'Yes,' he said, 'I know. Last night I came to your gate and as I stood there thinking of the terrible step I was about to take, fear overpowered me and I returned. But there stood by me in the night one who came to me in my dreams and said I was to go to the house of the missionary, and nothing would happen to me, and I have come.' And drawing his long sword, he held it up to me in a form signifying the Japanese oath, and promised that he would ever keep true to me, and I received him."

This man was afterwards baptised by the name of Titus; "for God," says Mr. Ensor, "who comforteth those who are cast down, comforted me by the coming of Titus."

Though the persecutions inaugurated by the Imperial Government were directed chiefly against the Roman Catholics, persons who were becoming interested in the teaching of the Protestant missionaries were not free from danger. In Nagasaki a young man named Futagawa Ito * had feigned an interest in Christianity with the design of assassinating Mr. Ensor, from whom he re-

* In some accounts called Kojima Ito, such changes in names being common.

quested instruction. The story of Christ's love made so deep an impression upon him that he soon came to believe what he had once hated. He became Mr. Ensor's assistant, and in 1870 was helping in the printing of a tract, when he suddenly disappeared. He had been arrested on a nominal charge of having transgressed a regulation concerning the wearing of swords; but in reality because of his connection with Christianity, as was evident from the fact that he was offered his liberty if he would renounce that religion. After a while he was sent to his native province. About his neck was fastened an iron collar to which were attached five chains. These were used to secure him in his cell, and on the road each chain was held by a soldier. On his arrival at his native village his relatives were in great distress at thought of the horrible crime he had committed. His mother for several days refused to eat any food. His sister, who had been married to a priest, was divorced. The villagers came to gaze at him through the openings of the cage in which he was confined, and to talk about the way in which he ought to be punished. After some time spent in the prison of the prefectural capital, he was taken to Tokyo. Throughout the journey he was confined in a small *kago,* which was something like a box carried by poles that rested on the shoulders of coolies. There was not room in it for him to lie down, and the top was so low that he could not sit upright. Food was given to him through a small opening in the side of the box. Only once was he allowed to get out from his narrow cell. This was at Osaka, where he was permitted to take a bath; but all the time his chains were held by five men, who also had drawn swords to cut him down if any attempt was made to escape. Mr. Ensor, who on account of ill health had been obliged to return to England before anything had been learned about Futagawa, tells us that after a while,

"Like Joseph, he found favour in the sight of the keeper of the gaol, and by-and-by, though still a prisoner himself, he was set over the other prisoners and made the keeper of the dungeon. He began to speak to those around him of the Saviour for whose sake he was bound and incarcerated. The magistrates

as well as the prisoners listened to him, and treated him with great kindness; so, like St. Paul at Rome, he preached Christ from his prison, and there were between seven and eight hundred men who heard from him the Gospel, and out of these not fewer than seventy or eighty began themselves to study the Word of God."

The American Minister finally secured the prisoner's release. The officials at first made some objection to the removal of the iron collar; but the eminent scholar, Fukuzawa Yukichi, always fertile in expedients, brought a physician, who ordered its removal for the sake of health.

In 1870, or early in 1871, officials broke up Bible classes in Tokyo. On the night of June 30, 1871, Ishikawa Einosuke, Rev. O. H. Gulick's teacher, was arrested in Kobe. In his house were found manuscript copies of Dr. Hepburn's translation of Mark's Gospel, and these were seized as proofs of his guilt. His wife, though not accused of being a Christian, was also arrested because she had not informed the authorities about her husband's evil-doing. The United States Consul demanded the release of Mr. Ishikawa on the ground of an agreement between the Governor and himself that notice should be given to the Consul before any servant of a United States citizen should be arrested. The Governor, however, replied that, since the teacher did not live on Mr. Gulick's premises, the agreement did not cover his case. It was afterwards learned that the arrest had been made by orders of the secret police of the Imperial Government. When the missionaries endeavoured to find out what could be done for the prisoner, the Governor of Kobe assured them that if he had received baptism he would certainly be put to death; otherwise, his life would be spared. Mr. and Mrs. Ishikawa were for some time imprisoned in Kyoto, where he died in November, 1872. The wife was afterwards released. She testified that her husband died with a firm faith in Jesus Christ. A gentleman, who appeared to be an official, called upon Rev. D. C. Greene soon after the above arrest, and in the midst of the conversation remarked as though incidentally: "If your teacher, sit-

ting here, should attend a Christian service, he would be liable to arrest." Mr. Greene's servants no longer dared to attend as formerly the morning prayers that he had conducted with them.

In the early part of 1871, Mr. W. E. Griffis (who afterwards wrote many well-known books upon Japan) went to Fukui as a teacher of English; and in the latter part of the same year Mr. E. W. Clark went in the same capacity to Shizuoka. Both of these gentlemen found opportunities for doing Christian work while in these interior cities. The contract that Mr. Clark was asked to sign did, indeed, contain a clause forbidding him to say anything about Christianity. "It was a great dilemma," he says, "for I had spent all my money in coming to Japan and getting ready to go into the interior." Some of his friends urged him to accept the condition, and the Japanese interpreter advised him to sign the agreement and then disregard it. He felt that a principle was at stake and stood firm, saying that unless the clause was struck out he must refuse to go. "It is impossible," he added, "for a Christian to dwell three years in the midst of a pagan people and yet keep silence on the subject nearest his heart." His firmness triumphed, and the clause was struck out. He began a Bible class the very first Sunday he was in Shizuoka, and kept it up all the time he was there.

The first representatives of the Woman's Union Missionary Society reached Yokohama in 1871, and there opened a school for girls.

Near the close of 1871, while the persecutions were still being directed against the Roman Catholics, a remarkable pamphlet was published by Mr. Nakamura Masanao, one of the best known teachers of Chinese in the country. It was written as though by a foreigner who, having spent some time in Japan, ventured to send a memorial to the Emperor. The writer begins by praising the liberal spirit shown by His Majesty's Government in adopting various things that have come from foreign lands, but expresses regret that it still adhered to its severe laws against Christianity. His Majesty did not seem to be aware that the secret of the

wealth and power of Western nations was in their religion.

"The industry, patience, and perseverance displayed in their arts, inventions, and machinery, all have their origin in the faith, hope, and charity of their religion. In general we may say that the condition of Western countries is but the outward leaf and blossom of their religion, and religion is the root and foundation on which their prosperity depends. Now Your Majesty's subjects, pleased with the branches and foliage, wish to make them all their own; and try to imitate them. This is more ridiculous than the mimicry of apes, and it seems to me that it is a delusion to reject the very cause of the prosperity of these nations. When the heart and will are wrong, the words and conduct are also wrong; and when the root of a tree is bad, the branches and leaves are also bad. Does Your Majesty judge the Western religion to be evil? Then the Western nations must themselves be evil. And if those nations are corrupt, then their charitable and brave men are bad men, and the wonderful arts and inventions of those countries must be bad. So, too, all industry, patience, and vigour must likewise be evil. In that case the new laws which Your Majesty has introduced must be bad. The teachers employed in the schools for foreign learning are also bad men. The merchants from foreign lands who are permitted to trade in Japan are bad merchants. The telegraphs, steam-vessels, and steam-engines, and all such conveniences are bad things. Why does not Your Majesty command them all to be destroyed, the bad teachers to be expelled from the country, the bad merchants to be put to death, and the bad laws to be repealed?"

The writer goes on to say that Japan will be despised by Western nations so long as it exhibits such unreasonable hatred of Christianity; and declares that Japan cannot make due progress without accepting that religion. He says:

"So long as Your Majesty does not repeal the prohibitory laws against Christianity, however assiduously the nation may endeavour to acquire the arts and civil reforms of Europe, it can never attain to the true European civilisation; and Japan may be likened to a manikin with face and eyes, and hands and feet, but without a soul. Can the manikin vie with a living man in the civilities of social intercourse? If Your Majesty should at last desire to establish Christianity in Japan, he should first of all be baptised himself, and become the chief of the church, and be called the leader of the millions of his people. Should Your Majesty come to such a decision, how great will be the respect and love accorded to him by the sovereigns of Europe from that

time forward! How the people of the Western countries will pray for his happiness! . . . The praises of Japan will ascend to the heaven, and the voice of her admiration will reach to the uttermost parts of the earth." *

During the closing week of 1871, the missionaries in Yokohama united with several English-speaking residents in a series of prayer-meetings. These were continued through the Week of Prayer in January of the next year. Dr. Verbeck in writing of them says:

"Some Japanese students connected with the private classes taught by the missionaries were present through curiosity or through a desire to please their teachers, and some perhaps from a true interest in Christianity. It was concluded to read the Acts in course day after day; and that the Japanese present might take part intelligently in the service, the Scripture of the day was translated extemporaneously into their language. The meetings grew in interest and were continued from week to week until the end of February. After a week or two the Japanese, for the first time in the history of the nation, were on their knees in a Christian prayer-meeting, entreating God with great emotion, with the tears streaming down their faces, that He would give His Spirit to Japan as to the early church and to the people around the Apostles. These prayers were characterised by intense earnestness. Captains of men-of-war, English and American, who witnessed the scene, wrote to us: 'The prayers of these Japanese take the heart out of us.' A missionary wrote that the intensity of feeling was such that he feared often that he would faint away in the meetings. Half a dozen perhaps of the Japanese thus publicly engaged in prayer; but the number present was much larger. This is the record of the first Japanese prayer-meeting.

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"As a direct fruit of these prayer-meetings, the first Japanese Christian church was organised at Yokohama on March 10th, 1872. It consisted of nine young men who were baptised on that day and two middle-aged men who had been previously baptised: viz., Ogawa, by the Rev. David Thompson of the American Presbyterian Mission at Yokohama, and Nimura, by the Rev. Geo. Ensor of the Church Mission at Nagasaki. Some of these nine young men had previously received special instruction from the Rev. J. H. Ballagh of the Reformed Church at Yokohama. Mr. Ballagh, too, assisted by Mr. Ogawa and other brethren, was chiefly instrumental, under the divine blessing, in bringing about the organisation of this church. Mr. Ogawa was chosen

* A full translation of the pamphlet is given in the *Japan Weekly Mail*, May 25, 1872.

an elder and Mr. Nimura a deacon of the young church. The members gave their church the catholic name of 'The Church of Christ in Japan,' and drew up their own church constitution, a simple evangelical creed, together with some rules of church government, according to which the government was to be in the hands of the pastor and elders, with the consent of the members."

The substance of the first of these rules was: "Our church is not partial to any sect, believing only in the name of Christ in whom all are one, and believing that all who take the Bible as their guide, diligently studying it, are Christ's servants and our brothers. For this reason all believers on earth belong to Christ's family of brotherly love." Mr. Ballagh acted as the first pastor of this church. Several of the young men who were baptised had been students of English under Dr. S. R. Brown. They had separately asked for baptism, not being aware that the others were ready for such a decisive step. Each supposed that he would meet with opposition from his associates, and at a preliminary meeting was surprised to find the others present. On returning to their room they were so filled with joy that they spent two hours in singing over and over, the hymn, "Jesus Loves Me," almost the only one that they then knew.

In connection with an industrial exhibition held at Kyoto in 1872, special passports were issued to foreigners permitting them to visit the city. Among several members of the American Board's Mission who availed themselves of this privilege was Rev. O. H. Gulick. He was able to hire a house for his residence during the exhibition, and hoped that he might make an engagement with the government for teaching, or might in some other way get permission for remaining in the city. He and some of his associates had interviews with the Governor and other officials. J. C. Berry, M.D., who had just joined the Mission, was invited by some of the physicians of Kyoto to settle there, and was promised a house free of rent. The time had not yet come, however, for missionaries to begin work in the old capital. A contract by which Mr. Gulick promised to teach English gratuitously for a certain company would have been

approved by the Government had he not struck out a clause that prohibited the mention of Christianity. In the amended form it was rejected. Afterwards an officer of the Kyoto police, who had helped him to rent a house and in other ways befriended him, was arrested and imprisoned for one hundred and forty days on the charge of helping in an attempt to introduce Christianity into Kyoto.

In the autumn of 1872, the American Board missionaries opened a school in Kobe. In addition to instruction in English and the sciences, the English Bible was taught for an hour each day by Mr. Greene, who on Sundays also had an attentive Bible class of twelve pupils. A similar school, with teaching of the Bible, was opened in Osaka by the American Board Mission, and another by the American Episcopal Mission. In Nagasaki was a school of the American Reformed Mission where the Bible was the chief text-book. The school in Kobe was established at the request of some young men who paid all the expenses, and it was so prosperous that at one time it numbered one hundred pupils.

A convention of missionaries was held in Yokohama September 20-25, 1872. Most of those connected with the Presbyterian, Reformed, and American Board missions, were in attendance. Neither the American Episcopal Mission nor that of the Church Missionary Society thought it best to send delegates; but Rev. Mr. Syle, acting chaplain of the English Consulate at Yokohama, and Rev. Mr. Nelson of the American Episcopal Mission in Shanghai, sat with the convention; as did Captain (afterwards Admiral) Watson of the United States Navy, Dr. W. St. G. Elliott, and Mr. W. E. Griffis (the last three being elders in Union churches that had been formed by foreigners residing in Yokohama and Tokyo), and also the elder of the Japanese church that had recently been formed in Yokohama. Father Nicolai of the Russo-Greek Church, was invited, but did not attend. The chief business of the convention was to arrange for a translation of the Scriptures. It was decided that the work should be entrusted to a committee

consisting of one member from each mission desirous of co-operating. The American Protestant Episcopal Mission, the English Church Mission, and Father Nicolai, were invited to assist in the work. Resolutions were passed upon the importance of educating a native ministry, and upon providing for the publication of Christian literature. The following resolution concerning the organisation of the Japanese churches was adopted:

"Whereas the Church of Christ is one in Him and the diversities among Protestants are but accidents which, though not affecting the vital unity of believers, do obscure the oneness of the Church in Christendom, and much more in pagan lands where the history of the divisions cannot be understood; and whereas we, as Protestant missionaries, desire to secure uniformity in our modes and methods of evangelisation, so as to avoid as far as possible the evil arising from marked differences, we therefore take this earliest opportunity afforded by the Convention to agree that we will use our influence to secure, as far as possible, identity of name and organisation in the native churches in the formation of which we may be called to assist, that name being as catholic as the Church of Christ; and the organisation being that wherein the government of each church shall be by the ministry and eldership of the same, with the concurrence of the brethren."

In November, 1872, Dr. Hepburn obtained, through Mr. De Long, the American Minister, permission to present to the Emperor a copy of the English Bible, and also one of his Japanese-English Dictionary. The receipt is said to have been acknowledged by the Emperor in an autograph letter.* Mr. De Long was afterwards censured by the United States Secretary of State for his part in the transaction, which was held to be a violation in some way of a rule of the State Department. In a semi-public letter Mr. De Long wrote:

"A rumour has obtained that I was reproved because I did not make the presentation in a customary diplomatic manner. This is a mistake. No objection was made to the course I followed; none could be taken, as I first enquired of the Minister for Foreign Affairs if such a present would be received and would be acceptable to his Sovereign, and only after being assured that it

**Japan Weekly Mail*, November 23, 1872.

would, did I present it, and then not directly to His Majesty but to him through his Minister, which was a proper diplomatic course of action."

Near the close of the year 1871, an embassy headed by Prince Iwakura had set forth to visit the United States and Europe. Its chief object was to secure such a revision of the treaties as would do away with extra-territoriality. In the letter of credence presented by Iwakura to the President of the United States, the Emperor declared: "We expect and intend to reform and improve" the treaties "so as to stand upon a similar footing with the most enlightened nations, and to attain the full development of public right and interest." The American Secretary of State said that before permitting citizens of the United States to come under the jurisdiction of Japan it would be necessary to consider the laws of that country, and he proceeded to ask about religious liberty and the edicts against Christianity. The Japanese Ambassador attempted to make it appear that the edicts were no longer enforced. Mr. De Long was then in Washington, and when Prince Iwakura denied in his conference with the Secretary of State that there was any religious persecution, Mr. De Long cited the facts connected with the arrest and continued imprisonment of Ishikawa Einosuke. The Ambassador, who could make no satisfactory reply, was told that it was useless to ask for the desired change in the treaty so long as the religion believed by most Americans was regarded in the present manner. On going to Europe the Embassy found that it was not without reason that the British and French Chargés d'Affaires had expressed the opinion that it would not be cordially received so long as the persecution of Christians continued. Before it reached England an influential deputation from the Evangelical Alliance had presented to the Foreign Secretary a memorial in which the persecutions of the Roman Catholic Christians were narrated, and the hope expressed that, in case the treaties were revised, a clause would be inserted guaranteeing religious liberty. The *Westminster Gazette* had opened a subscription for funds to support a movement that should urge the Eng-

lish Government to demand the release of the Japanese exiles. A vigorous agitation was begun in France by the publication of M. Léon Pagés's pamphlet on "The Persecution of the Japanese Christians." As the Embassy rode through the streets of Brussels, many among the spectators shouted out their demands that the Japanese Christians be released. Ito Hirobumi (afterwards Japan's leading statesman), who was a member of the Embassy, wrote to his Government, declaring that wherever he went he was met by the strongest appeals in behalf of the Christian exiles and for religious toleration. He was sure that, unless the Government acceded to the first request and evinced a disposition to be somewhat liberal in the other matter, it would look in vain for friendly concessions on the part of the foreign nations.

In November, 1872, Mori Arinori, who was in Washington as the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires, prepared a memorial to his Government in favour of complete religious freedom. Annexed to it was a draft for "The Religious Charter of the Empire of Dai Niphon" (Japan). This, as given in the English version, was as follows:—

"Whereas, in matters of conscience and religious faith, it has been justly observed that the manner of exercising them can be properly determined only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and

"Whereas, no man or society of men has any right to impose his or its opinions or interpretations on any other in matters of religion, since every man must be responsible for himself, and

"Whereas, we have no other purpose than that of avoiding for our nation the misery which the experience of the world shows has followed the patronage by the state of any particular religion;

"It is now solemnly resolved and declared that the Imperial Government of Dai Niphon will make no law prohibiting, either directly or indirectly, the free exercise of conscience or religious liberty within its dominions.

"And it is further solemnly resolved and declared that the organisation of any religious orders shall not be interfered with by either local or national authority, so long as such organisation does not conflict with the law of the State.

"And it is further solemnly resolved and declared that the law

of the Empire shall recognise no religious institution as special or different from any other kind of social institution.

"And it is further solemnly resolved and declared that no special privilege or favour shall be granted by either local or national authority to any particular sect or religious denomination without extending the same at once to every other.

"And it is further solemnly resolved and declared that no religious or ecclesiastical title or rank shall be conferred by the state upon any person belonging to any religious association.

"And it is further, in conclusion, solemnly resolved and declared that no action which may promote religious animosity shall be permitted within the realm."

In this, as in many other propositions made by Mr. Mori to his Government, he was too far in advance of his times. Not until the proclamation of the new Constitution, February 11, 1889, was religious liberty assured to the people of Japan; and on that very day, Mr. Mori, the advocate of such liberty, was assassinated by a Shinto fanatic for having, as was alleged, raised the curtain of the shrine at Ise with his walking-stick.

Though the guaranty of religious freedom did not come until 1889, the Government on February 19, 1873, ordered the removal of the edict-boards which, among other regulations, prohibited Christianity. At first it was supposed that this action implied open toleration. It was indeed feared by some missionaries that the Government might, for reasons of state, go too far in favouring Christianity, it being known that the Embassy while in Berlin, had consulted with a German professor of jurisprudence, concerning the expediency of adopting it as a state religion.* To those unacquainted with the Japan of that day it may seem that such action could not have been seriously contemplated; but there were several reasons that might lead the officials to favour it. They were anxious to have Japan recognised as on an equality with Western nations, and those who were in Europe saw that the difference in religion added greatly to the difficulty of accomplishing their purpose. It would, at least, be necessary to allow Christianity to be preached to the people, many of whom would be likely to accept it; and the Government wished to re-

*Ritter, "Hist. of Prot. Missions," p. 50.

tain the leadership in all new movements. Buddhism was disliked by many of those in power; and it was about this time that many native scholars and even Shinto officials were saying: "Shinto is not a religion; it is a system of government regulations, very good to keep alive patriotism among the people." * Already the Council of the Shinto Gods, which previously ranked with the Great Council of Government, had been replaced by a Religious Department, lower in rank, whose duties were not confined to matters connected with Shinto. Thus, it will be seen that many of those in power, accustomed as they were to consider religion an instrument to be used by the Government for its own ends, had no such strong feelings in favour of other religions as would make them oppose the State's adoption of Christianity, if thereby any political advantage could be gained. It is certain that more than once in later times influential men seriously advocated that Christianity be made a state religion.

Probably individual members of the Government differed concerning the advisability of removing the laws against Christianity; and there was fear that serious opposition might be manifested by the people. Accordingly a notice was issued stating that the edicts, which included laws against murder, arson, robbery, etc., as well as that against Christianity, had been taken down "because the people are so thoroughly acquainted with them and know them by heart." Notwithstanding this explanation, the Buddhist priests in some places instigated riots among the peasants in opposition to the removal of the boards.

In recent years it has been asserted that the action of the Japanese Government in removing the edicts was wholly due to its own liberal spirit, and not to any representations sent back from Western countries by the Embassy. It may be well to compare this assertion with what was said at the time, as reported by Mr. De Long, the United States Minister, in a letter addressed to Rev. J. Goble, in November, 1873.

* "Mikado's Empire," p. 160.

"Relative to the repeal of the edicts against Christianity or their supposed repeal, the truth is this:—The edicts were taken down and removed from public observance by order of this Government, but were not repealed. On the contrary, when they were removed, officers of the Government detailed for this express purpose called on all of the Japanese residents and warned them that, although the edicts had been taken down, they still remained in force and must be obeyed as laws. When this action came to my knowledge, I taxed one of the Assistant Ministers for Foreign Affairs with bad faith. He in reply entreated me to not so consider it, at the same time saying: 'The liberal party in Japan is yet in its infancy, but I assure you it is increasing rapidly. We have been able to secure two triumphs—one the return of the exiled Christian converts, the other the removal of the edicts.' These matters, he assured me, had been attained mainly upon the strength of advices received from one of the Ambassadors, Governor Ito, who in a communication addressed to his Government, written from Europe, had advised them that wherever he went he was met by the strongest appeals in behalf of these exiles and for religious toleration; and he felt assured that, unless his Government acceded to the first request and evinced a disposition to be somewhat liberal as to the other matter, it might look in vain for friendly concessions on the part of foreign powers in treaty with Japan. He farther assured me of the disposition of his party and of himself to go much farther at once, but that it was deemed unsafe to do so as yet, as undue haste might ruin all. Placing full faith in these representations, I consented to let matters rest for a season and wait a more favourable opportunity.

"This statement proves that no particular man or government is entitled to the credit of having obtained these results. They are the fruit of the earnest labour of Foreign Representatives at this Court, Christian missionaries in this Empire, and Christian statesmen and gentlemen abroad who had access to the Embassy and improved the opportunity they enjoyed."

In the first period of missionary effort a beginning had been made towards providing a Christian literature. Reference has already been made to some of the works that were published. It will be convenient here to give a more detailed account; and since the translation of the Bible is one of the first things to take the attention of Protestant missionaries, we will consider what had been accomplished in this direction up to the close of the year 1872.*

*The materials for this account of the translations of the Bible are chiefly drawn from an address made by Dr. Hepburn in 1880 at a meeting held to celebrate the completion of the Japanese version of the New Testament.

So far as known, the first work of this kind was that of Dr. Gutzlaff, who, with the help of the shipwrecked Japanese that found shelter in his house at Macao, made a translation of the Gospel of John. By the aid of the American Bible Society this was printed about 1838, on the press of the American Board at Singapore. When the circumstances of its production are considered, it is not strange that it was very imperfect and abounded with errors.

Dr. S. Wells Williams also attempted by the help of shipwrecked sailors to make translations. The results appear not to have been published.

Dr. Bettelheim, while in Loochoo, prepared a translation of the New Testament in the dialect he found in those islands. The Gospel of Luke was printed at Hongkong. Afterwards Dr. Bettelheim, while in Chicago, obtained the assistance of a Japanese for bringing his translation more into conformity with the language used in Japan proper. This revision of the Four Gospels and Acts was printed at Vienna in 1872, and many copies were sent to Japan.

The Protestant missionaries in Nagasaki made early attempts at translation.

Dr. Hepburn states that when he undertook this kind of work in 1861, the prejudices against Christianity, and the fear of the Government were so great that his teacher, after proceeding a little way in the Gospel of Matthew, positively declined to remain in his service. In 1866, the *Christian Intelligencer* of America, said, concerning the work of missionaries of the Reformed Board: "The Gospels are translated. The money is ready to print an edition. . . . Shall we print the Gospel? The missionaries hesitate, fearing bloodshed. For, by the laws of Japan, whoever may be converted by reading the Word of God may be put to death with all his family." Reference is probably made here to the translations prepared by Dr. S. R. Brown; and the question of their publication was settled in 1867, when his manuscripts were all destroyed by fire.

Finally, in 1871, Mr. Goble had an edition of the Gospel of Matthew printed from wooden blocks. He

said of this: "I tried in Yokohama to get the blocks cut for printing, but all seemed afraid to undertake it, and I was only able to get it done in Tokyo by a man who, I think, did not know the nature of the book he was working upon." The next year, Drs. Hepburn and Brown published Mark and John. Their translation of Matthew was issued in 1873.

The first tract was published by Dr. Hepburn in 1864. Shortly before it appeared, he wrote:

"I am now publishing a Christian tract. The block-cutter is at work on it and will probably finish it in a month. It is one of Dr. McCartee's [of China] tracts, which my teacher with my supervision has translated into what appears to me to be very good Japanese. It is the tract 'The True Doctrine Made Plain or Easy.' . . I have to be very secret in getting the blocks cut. No doubt, if the officers of the Government knew it, they would soon put a stop to it. Most providentially, as it seems, the man who is cutting the blocks is employed by one of our merchants and lives in his compound; and that merchant, strange to say, is a Jew, but a most liberal one; indeed, I think he is much more of a Christian than a Jew."

Another early tract prepared by Dr. Hepburn consisted of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed.

One difficulty attending the preparation of tracts for the common people is described by Rev. J. D. Davis, D.D., and may be inserted here, although what it narrates occurred in the first year of the next period of our history. Dr. Davis says:

"In the summer of 1873, the writer sat under the maples by the waterfall in Arima, the only missionary in the place, and wrote in *Romaji* [Roman letters] in his broken Japanese the first draft of a little tract. Two months later, when his teacher had copied this into Japanese, he asked him to revise it, and it came back in such high Chinese that none of the common people could read it. He then asked a scholar of the pure Japanese language to put it into such language that the masses could read it, and after another month it came back about fifty degrees higher yet. The writer then took his original draft and sat down with his teacher and fought it over word by word and sentence by sentence, demanding that the words which could be understood by the greatest number of the common people should be used;

and after two months more it was ready for the block-cutter; but his teacher begged of the writer not to let any one know who helped in the preparation of it, as he would be ashamed to have it known that he prepared so colloquial a book."

In other ways the printed page was the medium for teaching Christian truth. Students of English found in their reading-books frequent references to religious doctrines. English books on ethics were for a while diligently studied in the government schools. One who was a teacher in these schools has written of this time:

"Every class of students able to read a foreign language, from the highest to the lowest, was supplied with text-books on morals, and the use of them continued during several months. Suddenly an order from the Dai Jo Kwan (the Emperor's Privy Council) to discontinue the study arrived in the various schools, this study was banished from the curriculum, and the manuals of Wayland, Haven, and Malebranche were exiled to the dust and oblivion of the top shelf. Text-books on morals made by Christian writers were supposed to be too strongly flavoured with Christian theology, and the name so long publicly outlawed and hated in this Empire occurred too often on their pages to render it safe to allow such books in the hands of Japanese youth. A noted native educator . . . had 'translated' Wayland's 'Moral Science' . . . This 'translation,' however, is but a fragment. It omits all the positively Christian theology of the book, much of the theory and reasoning, and gives scarcely more than the results arrived at by the author and a portion of the moral code which is expressed in the book. Those high officers who read only the translation and were pleased with it, sanctioned the use of the various moral text-books of foreign countries, not knowing their full contents. On discovering their true nature, however, the order to discontinue the study of these books was sudden and peremptory. . . . A few weeks later came an order prohibiting all students in the government schools from attending or visiting a Christian church." *

The first attempts at Christian hymnology were probably the translations of "There is a Happy Land," and "Jesus Loves Me." The first version of the former was made by Mr. Goble. The imperfect knowledge of the language led to the production of verses that have since been a source of merriment. The first stanza commenced,

* W. E. Griffis in *Japan Weekly Mail*, March 10, 1874.

"Yoi kuni arimas
Taiso empo.
Shinja wa sakaete
Hikari zo."

Apparently several persons attempted the translation of "Jesus Loves Me." These two hymns, so far as is known, were the only ones produced before 1873.*

* See Rev. George Allchin's paper on "Hymnology in Japan," in the Report of the Tokyo Missionary Conference.

IV

JAPANESE ARGUMENTS AGAINST CHRISTIANITY

IN 1868, there was circulated in Kyushu a pamphlet that may well be given in full, as it shows how the Japanese looked upon the missionaries and their religion. It also narrates from a different point of view some of the events described in previous chapters.*

TALES OF NAGASAKI—THE STORY OF THE EVIL DOCTRINE

The Roman Catholic Religion

At a village named Oura, near Nagasaki, the French built a church, and five or six priests took up their residence there. They gave wages of a hundred or two hundred *rios* annually to about twenty Japanese readers and sent them out in the disguise of traders or travelling students to Hirado, Shimabara in Hizen, to Fukabori and to Amakusa. To the poor they gave money, and to the superstitious they exhibited prodigies in order to proselytise them, or worked upon their feelings by conventicles. (A conventicle is a meeting of both sexes at night in a secret chamber for pleasure.) In a short time, therefore, one or two hundred fellows sprang up who disregarded the most stringent injunctions of the lords of the districts, and neglected the social relations and the five virtues—a most fearful state of things, indeed! A certain spy, as he was concealed under the veranda of a house in Urakami, heard a priest of the evil religion preaching who said: "Persons who enter our sect and believe its doctrines will be born in heaven and enjoy eternal felicity; while believers in Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism will all go to hell and

* The translation, which is taken from the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States for 1868, was made by Mr. (now Sir) E. M. Satow, afterwards British Minister to Japan and later to China. Dr. Verbeck was convinced by internal evidence that the original work was written by a priest who had been instructed by himself and two of whose pupils were still coming to him three times a week. (Griffis's "Verbeck," p. 134.)

suffer torment. Should only a single person of a family enter our sect, the rest will all be born in heaven by his merit." Then he showed them in a "Glory," palaces and mansions, and people enjoying themselves with beautiful women. Consequently they became desirous of dying at once and being born in heaven, and do not care for the severest punishment. I will narrate further stories of the prodigies performed.

The Jesus or Protestant Doctrine

In the same way the Americans and English have built Jesus halls, and five or six priests coming, try to lead astray the talented and clever men of Japan. These priests of the Jesus doctrine live mostly in private houses, and under pretence of teaching astronomy, geography, and the use of fire-arms, and medicine desire in actual fact to spread about the abominable poison of Jesus. Compared with the Roman Catholic religion this is a very cunning doctrine indeed. Although they try to make out that there is nothing abominable in it, they are really foxes of the same hole, and it is really more injurious than the Roman Catholic doctrine. The priests say: "The Jesus doctrine which I recommend to you does not practise magic; it advocates the observance of the social relations and the five virtues." But in the matter of abolishing Shinto and Buddhism and of treating prince and father with contempt, it does not differ from the Roman Catholics, for which reason it is very hurtful to the state.

A Chinaman named Chang Chi-tsuo, in a letter to a friend of mine, says: "I find from my acquaintance with the retainers of Japanese daimyos residing in Nagasaki that they are all studying western learning by command of their princes. The fact is the western barbarians practise murder instead of agriculture. Astronomy, geography, warlike weapons, and other toys of theirs are only fit to amuse the eye and ear. But there is not one of their books which does not praise the spirit of Jesus or of the Lord of Heaven, and persons who do not study those books with a profound appreciation of fundamental truth will find themselves respecting the doctrine before they know where they are. I sincerely hope that the doctrines of Jesus and of the Lord of Heaven may not spread all over Japan in two or three years." Those words are perfectly true. Should it turn out so, Japanese will become enemies of their own country for the sake of foreigners. I pray most earnestly that benevolent men and superior men will not be led astray by the evil plots of these people, but will assist our countrymen with just laws, and keep the state as firm as Taisan.

Elements of the Evil Doctrine

The Jesus doctrine and the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven are the same in origin, and merely branches of one tree. Three hundred and fifty-two years ago a division of the Roman Catholic

religion was founded, which, professing to observe the true meaning of Jesus, called itself the Jesus doctrine. They say that the Roman Catholic religion consecrates wooden images and practises all sorts of prodigies. The Jesus doctrine does not even consecrate images of Jesus; it merely instructs, and does not practise prodigies. They derive their doctrines from the Old Testament in thirty-nine books, and the New Testament in twenty-seven books. The commencement of the Old Testament says that five thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight years ago the Lord of Heaven made the heavens and earth, the sun, moon, and stars, herbs, trees, birds, and beasts, in the space of five days; and on the sixth made a man and a woman who are the original ancestors of all mankind. Wherefore the Lord of Heaven is also called the Creator. He is also called the Great Prince and the Great Father; (natural) princes and fathers being distinguished as little princes and little fathers. In that case what is said in the Classic of Poetry, that "in the whole of what is under the heavens there is no place which is not royal territory; in the whole earth there are none who are not royal subjects" comes to nought. And when they say "that the Lord of Heaven made human bodies which were of earth, and that the Lord of Heaven put life into them," what is said in the Classic of Filial Piety, "that we have received our bodies, hair, and skin from our fathers and mothers," comes to nought.

They look upon prince, father, and mother as nurses who merely nourish us, and say that if we worship our ancestors we shall be hated by the Lord of Heaven. This is treating prince and father with contempt and entirely destroying the natural relations of prince and vassal, father and child, which is a great evil to the state.

The Old Testament contains the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven. The first of those says: "There is no other Lord but me." Consequently the evil confederation of Urakami-mura near Nagasaki threw the tables of Tenshoko Daijin (the Sun-goddess) and of Kasuga Hachiman and the rest into the water, into the fire, and into the privies. The sixth says: "Thou shalt not kill;" but this means, "Thou shalt not kill people of our religion;" but they murder the most virtuous persons and superior men if they do not belong to their religion. The seventh says: "Thou shalt commit no abominable lechery;" but there are many cases in the Old Testament of persons who are said to be beloved by the Lord of Heaven becoming united in the bonds of parent and child, brethren, husband and wife; and besides, at Urakami, near Nagasaki lately, under the name of conventicles, men and women meet secretly in the depth of the night, which is abominable lechery. The eighth says: "Thou shalt not steal;" but they seize on other countries and make them subject to their own. Is this not flagrant robbery?

In the New Testament is written the history of Jesus from his birth to his death by crucifixion. This person called Jesus was originally very poor. In his fifteenth year he was banished, upon

which he travelled through many countries learning magic arts, curing the sick, and stopping floods, and other magic. He deceived the ignorant lower classes, making them follow himself until his evil design of murdering the sovereign of the country and seizing the country and people for himself being discovered, he was put to death by crucifixion. He was a most traitorous animal. It is, however, written that he was crucified to atone for the sins of all men; that after his death he came out of his grave and preached for the space of forty days to his disciples, and ascended to heaven alive. This is the invention of those fellows, and entirely unfounded.

Considering that the foundation lay in such violent wickedness, it is impossible that any of his believers can be either filial or loyal. They say that the most unfilial and disloyal can go to the very top place in heaven if they only love the Lord of Heaven. The disasters of Shimabara and Amakusa may be looked upon as warnings to avoid. The love of novelty is unfortunately such that, if divine tickets and images of Buddha are caused to fall from heaven, as they have been since last autumn, there are plenty of common people, who, under pretence of worshipping the gods, dance and sing drunken songs, and forget the principles of social relations. Such would be the misfortunes of the state, were people to be sunk in this evil doctrine.

What I pray for is that patriotic *samurai* in this country shall learn how these people offend against the principles of fidelity and filial piety; what ambitious designs they have against the state; and fortifying men's minds with good principles, block up every chink by which the evil doctrine might creep in; and perform one act of good service to the sovereign.

I do not aim here at describing the thing in detail, but only to speak a bit of my mind and narrate a story for the benefit of the ignorant and young.

History of the Evil Doctrine in Nagasaki

Since the opening of the port of Nagasaki, the French among the western barbarians have mainly preached the Roman Catholic religion, and the English and Americans the Protestant religion. In addition to these there are the Greek religion, the Mahometan religion, &c., all of which resemble the former and are as injurious to the state as they are.

In Oura, at Nagasaki, Roman Catholic churches and Protestant churches have been built and the Japanese are secretly induced to join these religions. The Roman Catholic religion proselytises from the middle down to the lowest classes of the inhabitants; the Protestant religion chiefly proselytises those of a higher position than the middle class.

The proselytes of the Roman Catholics are as follows. In Urakami, near Nagasaki, above two thousand people; in the territory of Omura, above one hundred persons; in the territory of Fukabori in Hizen, above fifteen hundred; Yokohama, Shimabara in

Hizen, Amakusa in Higo, Hirado in Hizen; in these last four places proselytising is going on, and it is not known exactly how many thousands are there.

On the evening of the twenty-third day of the sixth month of last year (July, 1867), the Governor of Nagasaki sent to Urakami, seized the evil ones and threw them into prison. The images in the church which had been built at Urakami were seized at the same time and entrusted to the charge of the Mayor of the village. The officers who were sent to apprehend them brought them all, seventy-odd in number, to the Governor's official residence. Six or seven men were left to guard the Mayor's house; but the remainder of the evil band, to the number of several hundred, attacked the place and possessed themselves of the images, &c. They also seized two officials and two of their subordinates as hostages, declaring with violent language that they would not give them up unless the prisoners were set at liberty. In consequence these hundreds of other offenders were left alone and not apprehended.

The people of the next village, called Nishi, were all of a resolute disposition and always observed the principles of loyalty and filial piety. Although built in a continuous line with the village of Urakami, it did not contain a single one of those evil fellows. When the evil fellows of Urakami were apprehended, the officials were very much afraid and did not like to force an entrance; but the people of Nishi, thinking that now was the time to do their duty, forced their way among the enemy and did good service.

In Urakami there is a place subject to Omura. As that place contained some of the evil band, the authorities of Omura arrested more than a hundred in the commencement of the seventh month, and committed them to prison.

The evil ones who had been apprehended by the Governor of Nagasaki and cast into prison were daily summoned by him and remonstrated with on their evil conduct, but they remained obstinate and gave no signs of repentance. On the contrary, they actually begged that they might be openly permitted to join the Roman Catholic sect.

As the Governor and Collectors could do nothing with them; on the fourteenth day of the eighth month, the priests of nine temples—seven being of the Shin sect and two of the Zen sect—were summoned to the Governor's official residence and asked if they could suggest a plan for bringing back the evil fellows of Urakami.

The priests replied that they would give in their answer after mature consideration and retired. Next day they sent in their reply, which was to the effect that they would do their best in exhorting those people to change their hearts.

On the nineteenth day the Collector and judges set out to Urakami with the priests of the nine temples, and tried to exhort those people; but they were obstinate and refused to be convinced in the slightest degree, the fact being that, as they had not been

severely dealt with up to that time, the evil bands only increased in their obstinacy.

In the middle of the ninth month, the people imprisoned by the Governor of Nagasaki falsely pretended to have repented and were released from prison, but they only collected together again and increased in numbers from day to day.

As the affair of those who had been released from prison ended only in their village being made responsible for them, the evil fellows thought they had found a capital opportunity; they took a quantity of money out of their church with which they went secretly to all parts, giving money to the poor, performing magic and wonders, and proselytising the people. Consequently, in a short space of time, large additions were made to their numbers—ten in one place and a hundred in another.

The fourth commandment of the evil religion ordains the observance of a day of rest. Japanese began gradually to keep this day, by which their having entered the sect became apparent.

As the Roman Catholic religion had spread so widely, it behooved those of the Protestant doctrine also to take their measures to increase the circle of their sect also. A person called Maria, wife of one Verbeck, a priest of Jesus, left her child at the breast and went to China in a steamer. She went as far as Shanghai and Hongkong for the purpose of getting the priests residing there to come with her to Japan.

This is a summary of the doings of the evil ones at Nagasaki. I do not know what may be the state of things at Yokohama and Hakodate. As there are several priests residing at those places also, it is pretty certain that they will entice Japanese gradually.

Since Hiogo became an open port last winter, no doubt the priests will gradually make their entrance there, and I fear they will pour their abominable poison in a short time into Osaka and Kyoto also. But as they have not commenced working at those places yet, I hope that a plan for protecting us against them will be matured while there is yet time.

As the evil ones of Nagasaki who are fully convinced are not at all likely to be converted again, I think they ought to be visited with the severest punishment. But the persons who have been merely drawn in by others will probably repent if they are exhorted in the proper manner.

In the above I have given a brief account of the rise and spread of the evil doctrine.

Another pamphlet that was widely circulated at about the same time was, "A New Essay on the Protection of the Country, by the Rev. Folly-Pitier." A few extracts will serve to show the objections commonly urged against Christianity.*

* The full translation may be found in the United States Diplomatic Correspondence for 1868. The tracts quoted were published in China.

"The doctrines of honouring the Lord of Heaven and believing in Jesus appear to be the foundation of the Protestant religion; but nothing is taught of cultivating one's person, regulating one's family, ordering the state, and tranquillizing the empire. The fifth of the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven is 'Honour thy father and mother.' Some tracts have lately been published entitled, 'Elements of the Five Virtues in the Holy Scriptures,' and 'Elements of the Five Social Relations in the Holy Scriptures,' which are made up of texts picked out of different parts of the two Testaments and twisted so as to bear out the meaning of the title; but they do not contain the correct principles of the human relations. They are merely got up to stave off troublesome opponents and also, at the same time, to take people in; but they do not represent the real spirit of the Protestant religion. . . .

"It is quite true that one of the Ten Commandments directs that honour be given to parents, but as no care is taken to give effect to this injunction by teaching it to the people, we do not find that either Abraham, Moses, or Jesus, who are venerated as holy and sage men by the Protestant religion, were celebrated for their filial piety."

"Seeing that the great principle of filial piety, which is the root of all good actions, is thus neglected, we cannot expect to find any traces of loyalty either. There is not one of these so-called wise and holy men who has acted with loyalty towards his lord and master. Besides, there is not a single word about loyalty in the whole of these numerous books and thousands of words of which the two Testaments are composed. . . .

"The Ten Commandments consist of two laws: 'Honour and love the Lord of Heaven,' and 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' Respect to parents comes under that universal love which is meant by 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' Therefore, although the expression, 'Honour thy father and thy mother,' exists, it does not urge the practice of filial piety. Jesus said: 'He who loveth father and mother more than me is not worthy of me.' In discussing this question in the 'Dialogue on the Christian Religion,' Jesus is made first and of greater importance, and parents last and of less importance. When the great principles of loyalty and filial piety are thus neglected and the five virtues thus destroyed, how can one expect perfection in the social relations? In the 'Mirror of the Way to Heaven,' the five social relations are said to be insufficient, and another relation, that of heaven and man, is set up as the chief of all the others, as being of the highest importance. The object is to destroy the five relations and to substitute that of heaven and man for them all. The Lord of Heaven is the Lord of all countries and the Father of all men; He is therefore the Great Prince and Great Father. All difference between high and low among men is done away with, and this is because the single relation of heaven and man is made to take the place of the five relations. Under these circumstances, little love and honour are shown towards prince and

father, and when they are despised it is impossible that there should be any loyalty or filial piety. It is no wonder that there should be no loyal or filial men among the Protestant fellows. In discussing the question of filial piety, which they rarely do, they say that the child's duty is fulfilled by his supporting his parents as long as they are alive and burying them when they die. The father of one of Jesus's disciples having died, he asked permission to go home and bury him. Jesus would not permit it. . . ."

"It objects strongly to the worship of graven images. The second Commandment says: 'Thou shalt not worship graven images.' There are two books called 'Reasons for not Worshipping Graven Images,' and 'Argument against the Worship of Graven Images,' which attack the practice with great violence, besides passages in many other books which condemn it. Should the Protestant religion spread in Japan, I fear the consequences will be the complete destruction of the shrines of Ise and Hachiman, [of places] where the bodies of the Emperor's ancestors repose, of all the sacred images of the gods, and of the tablets of our forefathers. Protestant churches will be built, and only the Lord of Heaven and Jesus will be worshipped. Laws which have remained in force from the earliest ages will be abolished, and the Imperial line, which has lasted for the last ten thousand generations, will be polluted. . . ."

"If we allow our countrymen to become corrupted by this abominable religion, it is to be feared lest the disposition which venerates the Imperial line should disappear and traitors arise who would aim at the throne for themselves. This is what I have feared and grieved over for years. I humbly pray the princes, nobles, and great officers to speak to the wise of the three systems [Shintoist, Buddhist, Confucianist] to rigidly prohibit this religion while our people are not yet deeply affected with Protestantism; to expel these fellows, to prevent the divine Princes from being polluted by the stinking wind, to prevent this necromantic doctrine from throwing the right system into confusion; and thus insure to the people safety under the shadow of the Imperial favour."

An appendix to the pamphlet speaks of the way in which the division between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism arose, and closes by saying: "The evil nature of Protestantism being thus apparent, the reader may judge of the equally evil nature of Roman Catholicism without my enlarging on the subject."

V

PLOUGHING AND SEED-SOWING

1873-1882

THE year 1873, was a turning-point in the history of Christianity in Japan. The attitude of the Government suddenly changed. We have already seen that, on February 19th, orders were issued for the removal of the edicts against Christianity. There were other signs of increased freedom. A few newspapers had been established, and in one of these that was published in Kobe there appeared, in April, an article written by a young man who was then a student in America, and who at a later date became one of the most efficient pastors in Japan, Paul Sawayama. The most remarkable thing about this article, which, after criticising Shintoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, urged the introduction of Christianity, is that such sentiments could be published and freely circulated in Kobe less than two years after Mr. Ishikawa had been arrested for having Christian books in his possession, and but five months after his death in prison.

Moreover, in this year public preaching was begun in Kobe by Rev. D. C. Greene, of the American Board Mission. On the principal street was secured a building, whose front part was used for a Bible and tract depository, while the remainder was fitted up as a chapel. At first, the service was little more than a Bible-class; but very soon the audience increased until the building was filled to its utmost capacity. Sometimes as many as two hundred people were in attendance. About the same time, Messrs. Gulick and Gordon, of the same mission, began to hold a public service in Osaka. It was attended by an average of fifteen persons, most of whom

were students in the day-school that was taught by the same missionaries. What was probably the first Sunday-school *conducted in the Japanese language* was begun at Kobe in December, J. C. Berry, M.D., of the American Board Mission, being its superintendent.

In the spring of 1873, the Governor of Kobe obtained from the Central Government permission for Dr. Berry, who had begun medical work the year before, to teach anatomy by dissection in the provincial hospital. Beginning with ten students, Dr. Berry soon had a large class under his instruction. He also opened dispensaries in some neighbouring towns. The following story shows how entrance was gained to one of these places. Rev. and Mrs. J. D. Davis, with an infant child, spent the summer of 1872 in Arima, a few miles from Kobe, and one day they visited the neighbouring town of Sanda. Large numbers of people were attracted to the hotel to see these strange visitors. Mr. Davis writes:

"Among the rest came the wife of the ex-Daimyo of that little province, whose home was there. She brought with her three little children, dressed in foreign clothes. Soon afterwards the Daimyo and his family came to Arima and visited us every day; and there began an intimacy which has ripened into the warmest friendship. Soon after our return to Kobe last year [1872], this family came here [Kobe] to live, and we took into our family a girl who had lived with them for five years. Last spring one of the little children died, and the sorrowing friends wanted it buried in foreign style; so we worked out a casket, which was made of the best camphor-wood, and then loving hands trimmed it, laid the beautiful sleeping form within it, and crowned all with a wreath of the brightest flowers, and when, in reply to the eager enquiries of those sorrowing hearts, Mrs. Davis told them of Jesus and of heaven, and that she trusted their darling was forever safe there, a new world was opened to them, tears of joy mingled with those of sorrow, and an interest was awakened which we hope will end in heavenly bliss. . . . A month ago, Dr. and Mrs. Berry spent five days in the Daimyo's old home, Sanda. They found a great eagerness on the part of the people to read and hear the Bible, over fifty coming on one occasion."

Afterwards the physicians of Sanda obtained a building for a hospital, which was visited every month by Dr. Berry, and was also used for preaching. Several of the persons that became prominent members of the Kobe

Church were formerly retainers of the above-mentioned Daimyo.

Notes furnished by Dr. Davis tell us more about Sanda. He says:

"About the first of September, 1873, we rented two rooms in Sanda and stayed there two weeks at the request of the young men, some twenty of whom came there three times a day to study the Gospel of John. I could speak the language only in a stammering way, but I did the best I could to make the meaning clear to them. After returning to Kobe, I bought a Japanese pony and rode over to Sanda, twenty miles, each Saturday, spending the Sabbath and coming back on Monday. The company of young men continued interested and for a few weeks I had no trouble. But arriving there in a pouring rain one Saturday night in the early winter, the hotel where I usually stopped refused to let me stay and I met a refusal from every hotel in the place. It was evident that an opposition to the 'Jesus way' had been developed. It began to look as if I should have to return whence I had come. I was leading my horse in the darkness on a back street, praying for guidance. I knocked at an unknown gate. A boy came and I made known my request to stay all night. Soon the response came that I could stay. It was a small Buddhist temple of the Shin sect. The father was dead, and the widow and her young son were poor and glad of the trifle I could pay for rent; and there we had our meetings for about six months. I had the main room of the temple; eating, sleeping, and preaching before the images and sacred relics of the temple."

The second Japanese church was organised in Tokyo, September 20, 1873, by the American Presbyterian Mission. It had the same doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis as the one organised the year before by the Reformed missionaries, and from the latter church came seven of the eight members. Ogawa Yoshiyasu, who afterwards became a prominent minister, was the first elder.

For more than three years the Reformed missionaries at Nagasaki had taught in the government schools; but in the autumn of 1872, believing that the way was open for more direct work, they opened a private school at their own house. Afterwards a girls' school under the care of Mrs. Stout was added. As the limits of private rooms were soon outgrown, it was arranged that both schools should be removed into the native city. It was a distinct understanding that, while the schools should be under native patronage, the teachers should have en-

tire control of all instruction, leaving the way thus clear to make the schools entirely Christian, when the time should come to do so. It was felt that this could not be done so long as the edicts against Christianity were in force. In the course of a few weeks about fifty girls and thirty boys were in regular attendance. Only the common English studies were taught in the city, but a Bible-class at the mission residence was regularly attended by a large number of the older boys in the evening. Soon the edicts were removed, and it was believed that the time had come for making the school openly Christian. The Bible was introduced into the boys' department. An attempt at intimidation was made by those that had been most active in establishing the school. The pupils, however, seemed to mind this but little, and the Bible-class was continued. Then the patrons summarily closed the school. The pupils were begging for instruction, and so the school was re-opened at the residence of the missionaries.

"Shortly after this, in connection with Mr. Bonnell, the teacher in the government school, a Sunday school was established, consisting of young men both from the government and private schools. For the work thus carried on, private rooms were found too strait; but by the kindness of Captain Janes, a Christian gentleman teaching in Kumamoto, a commodious schoolhouse was built in 1873 and the schools carried on there. This building was well filled with an interested school, especially on Sundays. There also the first baptisms took place in 1873, the first native prayer-meeting was held, and the Gospel first publicly preached, in this part of the Empire." *

Mr. Burnside of the Church Missionary Society, who also desired to open in Nagasaki a school for boys, met with the same difficulty that had troubled the missionaries of the Reformed Board. About the close of the year, as he writes:

"I called upon the Governor of Nagasaki to ask his permission for my opening such a school in the native town itself, giving him at the same time clearly to understand that besides teaching English I should also teach the Bible, and also that I should,

* Rev. H. Stout as quoted by Dr. Verbeck in Report of Osaka Conference, p. 61.

Pacific University Library.

once a week at least, on Sunday afternoon, hold a service in the same house. His reply was that so far as the school was concerned he did not apprehend much difficulty but that neither the reading of the Bible nor the Sunday service could be at present permitted. I might do what I liked, he said, in the foreign settlement, over which he had no jurisdiction, but that if I applied for permission to open such a school in the native town, I would be required to promise that I would not in the slightest degree influence those who might attend the same on the subject of religion." *

Mr. Burnside baptised two persons in the year 1873. What he afterwards learned concerning one of them shows another difficulty that beset the work. Of this person Mr. Burnside wrote:

"He sought baptism, I have since discovered, feigning repentance of sin and faith in Jesus, solely and wholly in order that he might obtain money from the Kyobunsho, or Department of Religion, by betraying those whom from time to time he might meet at our house. . . . For nine months prior to his baptism he had, on several occasions, asked most earnestly to be baptised, and I had on each such occasion told him that I thought he had better wait until such time as he should be further instructed in the faith. At length his profession of faith in the Lord Jesus, his confession of sin, and his contrition of heart appeared so sincere and his grasp of the truth so intelligent that I felt it would not be right of me any longer to delay, and therefore I decided to baptise him. . . . From that day to this he has not been near me."

With the commencement of 1873, the old way of reckoning time by lunar months was changed so as to bring the months and days into correspondence with those of the Gregorian calendar; but instead of numbering the years from the birth of Christ, they were reckoned from the date assigned for the accession to the throne (660 B.C.) of the mythical Jimmu Tenno, the alleged founder of the Imperial Dynasty, or by the old system of year-periods.

Foreigners employed by the Government had hitherto been allowed to have Sunday as a day of rest; but in the summer of 1873 notice was given that there would be a return to the Japanese system, by which the first, sixth, eleventh, sixteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-sixth

* *Church Mis. Intelligencer*, February, 1875.

of each month were holidays. This action was taken in the absence from Japan of Mr. Soeshima, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had been sent to China as an ambassador. According to a letter written by Dr. Maclay of the American Methodist Mission:

"The official who was appointed to act as Minister during his absence belonged to the old obstructive party, and he formed a conspiracy with other leading men of the same party to overthrow the grand programme of reform to which the Government had committed itself. He issued an order prohibiting the students in the government colleges and all the pupils in the schools being present at any time at any Christian preaching or teaching. He also ordered that Christian missionaries who were employed as teachers in the University at Yedo and elsewhere should be no longer engaged; and effectually to prevent them and any truly Christian laymen from becoming educators, he decreed that the seventh-day rest, which Soeshima had agreed to, should give place to a fifth-day rest. He and the other malcontents thought there would be radical differences of opinion upon this action of his among the members of the foreign diplomatic corps; but, with a degree of unanimity which is extremely gratifying, the ministers of the Western powers entered such a protest and made such representations on the subject to the Japanese Government that the reactionists were compelled to suspend their attack."

After Mr. Soeshima's return, Mr. De Long, the United States Minister, objected to what had been done, saying that it was an act of special and invidious legislation against one class of reputable citizens of the United States. He went on to say:

"The effect of the edict will be disastrous to your own Government. You will lose the services of the most thoroughly qualified and efficient teachers who are now serving in your schools; and by your efforts to ignore the Christian Sabbath you will make it impossible for any educated and honourable gentleman from Europe or the United States to enter the service of your Government."

When Mr. Soeshima said that the order had been issued in his absence and that he would inquire into the matter, Mr. De Long added:

"The subject is of such importance that after retiring from this interview I purpose at once to wait

upon the Minister of Education, and in his presence, enter my formal protest on behalf of the Government of the United States."

"You need not do so," responded Mr. Soeshima with energy, "I will attend to the matter." He did as he had said, and it was not long before Christian teachers were restored to their places.

It was in 1873 that Nakamura Masanao, one of the most distinguished scholars in the land, received Christian baptism. Though in after years he did not prove so zealous as had been hoped, his action at this time in braving the opposition of his associates did much to call attention to Christianity.

Another noted scholar, Yasui Chuhei, published under the title "Bemmo," an attack upon Christians that obtained a wide circulation. Its popularity was increased by its having an introduction written by Shimazu Saburo, one of the most influential men in the country, who had been a leader in the movement for overthrowing the Shogunate.*

The writer of this work begins by representing himself as an old man who, having considerable leisure, thought that he would spend part of it in examining the Bible. The results of this investigation led him to say:

"The errors of the Foreign Book are monstrous and without reason; the arguments contained in it are shallow, and do not properly need any refutation on my part. But foolish people, being deceived by this Foreign Book, believe in it and retain this belief until they die, which is a source of trouble and disturbance, and this evil would seem to be gradually extending itself until it threatens to reach us, so that to withhold explanation longer would be wrong."

The author then criticises the stories contained in the Pentateuch, asserting that many of them are incredible and represent Jehovah as a malignant and unjust deity. He considers that Noah's flood was coincident with one mentioned in Chinese history. Passing on to

*This work was translated into English by J. H. Gubbins, Esq., of the British Legation.

the New Testament, he objects to the teaching of Christ as contrary to the principles of loyalty and filial obedience that form the basis of Confucian ethics. Objection is made to Christ's claim that love to Him should exceed love to parents, to His telling a disciple not to go to bury his father, and to other verses that "have the effect of making sons show a want of affection for their fathers, and daughters for their mothers, and create estrangement between a wife and her husband's mother." The teaching of Jesus is alleged to be arrogant and boastful.

"It does not bow to the authority of the sovereign of any country. It is not for me to explain these things for the benefit of sovereigns in general; but what I fear (in the event of this religion being adopted)) is lest the customs of the country should be abolished and disturbance created. Jehovah called Himself the jealous God, and did not permit His followers to worship any other. Jesus strengthened this law more and more, and swore that He would destroy other gods. It was therefore that He said: 'I am not come to bring peace into the world, but to create strife.' Should then this religion be adopted, the shrines of Jimmu Tenno, and of the various Emperors and nobles, and those dedicated to patriotic and illustrious men will have to be destroyed, and the whole nation, down to the ordinary *samurai* and lower classes, will have to give up offering masses for the souls of their parents and ancestors."

The year 1873 was further noteworthy as one that saw a great increase in the Protestant missionary force, which was more than doubled, the twenty-nine new workers being one more in number than those that were in the field at the close of the preceding year. The number of missions was also increased by the coming of the American Methodist Episcopalians, the Canadian Methodists, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The work of the Baptist Free Mission having been transferred to the American Baptist Missionary Union, Mr. and Mrs. Goble, who had been in America on a furlough, returned to Japan in company with Rev. Nathan Brown, D.D., and Mrs. Brown. In March the Baptist Church in Yokohama, composed at first of these missionaries, was organised, and in July the first convert was baptised. In December the Presbyterian mis-

sionaries of Yokohama organised a presbytery, and at about this time a Union Chapel was erected for the use of foreign residents in Tokyo.

The following extract from a letter written by Rev. O. H. Gulick after a visit to Yokohama gives some facts concerning the condition of the work at the close of the year: *

"The native church of Yokohama under the care of Mr. Ballagh has now enrolled about fifty members, while that of Yedo [Tokyo] under the care of Mr. Thompson numbers nine with a prospect of an early addition of as many more. The two native elders of these two churches not long since made a preaching tour through the cities and villages on the northeastern shore of the Bay of Yedo. They were listened to with interest and were unmolested; but some of those who afforded them shelter and countenance have been since called to account and annoyed by the officials. . . . There are in all twelve missionary societies, including those of the Roman Catholic and Greek churches, labouring in Japan. The Roman Catholics report fifteen missionaries here, and the Greek Church has one in Yedo and is represented also in Hakodate. The following table presents a list of the evangelical missionaries labouring in Japan.

	Men	Married Ladies	Single Ladies	Total
American Board	9	8	3	20
Presbyterian Board (Am.)	6	4	3	13
Reformed Board (Am.)	5	5	1	11
American Episcopal	8	2	—	10
Methodist Episcopal (Am.)	5	5	—	10
Baptist Union (Am.)	3	3	—	6
Woman's Union Miss'y Soc. (Am.)	—	—	5	5
Wesleyan Methodist (Canad.)	2	2	—	4
Church Miss'ry Society (Eng.)	3	3	—	6
Soc. for Prop. of Gospel (Eng.)	2			2
	—	—	—	87

These missionaries are distributed as follows:

	Men	Married Ladies	Single Ladies	Total
At Yokohama	14	13	6	33
At Yedo, now Tokyo	10	3	3	16
At Osaka	9	6	1	16
At Kobe	5	5	2	12
At Nagasaki	4	4	—	8
At Aomori Ken	1	1	—	2

* *Mis. Herald*, 1874, p. 121.

Those reported in the table as located in Aomori Ken were Rev. and Mrs. Wolff of the Reformed Mission, who were employed as teachers of English in the city of Hirosaki. On Sundays they had Bible-classes. Another teacher in the school where they taught was a young Japanese who had been a pupil of Mr. Ballagh. Though not yet baptised, he had told the people about Christianity and aroused their interest in it before the coming of Mr. and Mrs. Wolff.

In 1874 the Edinburgh Medical Mission sent out the only representatives it has ever had in Japan, Dr. and Mrs. Theobald A. Palm, who remained in Tokyo until the next year, when they removed to Niigata. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland also sent out several missionaries. Among them was Henry Faulds, M.D., who at once opened a dispensary at Tokyo, and soon gathered about him a number of medical students.

At the request of Bishop Williams of the American Episcopal Mission, his former diocese was in 1874 divided by the appointment of a bishop for China, thus relieving him from the necessity of long journeys to that country, and permitting him to give his whole attention to Japan. Six persons "the first fruits of the Mission," had been baptised at Osaka, November 16, 1873, and fourteen more the next April. All of these were confirmed before July, 1874.

In Tokyo, one of the American Baptist missionaries, at the request of some Buddhist priests who expressed a desire to hear about Christianity, took up his abode in quarters offered him at one of their temples in Shiba. Failing health, however, soon necessitated the withdrawal of this missionary from the field. Mr. Mori Arinori, whose memorial in favour of religious liberty has been mentioned, rented to the Baptists a house in Surugadai, Tokyo, where they established a girls' school, which has since developed into the Sarah A. Curtis Home.

The church in Yokohama connected with the Reformed Mission continued to prosper. In the course of 1874 fifty-seven adults were added by baptism, the whole number of members rising to one hundred and nineteen. Some twelve of this number joined a theological class

that was taught by Dr. S. R. Brown. Its members combined practice with theory by engaging in evangelistic efforts.

The American Board missionaries in Kobe and Osaka were greatly encouraged by the growth of their work, and by the earnestness shown by the converts. In the winter of 1873-74 the first prayer-meeting in the Japanese language that had been held in Kobe met at the house of Mr. Greene. Seven or eight men and one woman were there heard to pray for the first time. In Osaka, a few days later, Mr. Davis, going from Kobe, preached in a building that stood beside the gate of Dr. Gordon's house. At the close of the sermon, a physician arose unasked and broke out in a touching prayer. After this he and five other Japanese went into a darkened room, where Dr. Gordon was obliged to stay on account of trouble with his eyes, and there each of them offered prayer.

Of five young men in Kobe who expressed a desire to follow Christ, Mr. Greene wrote in January, 1874:

"I have been particularly pleased to see how readily they fall in with the theory of self-support and self-propagation. One of the aims of these young men is to make the church a missionary society, and I believe that it will be such from the start. . . . God has seen fit to make the influence of missionary work in Japan felt first and most strongly by the intelligent classes. The large majority of those who have become Christians hitherto are of this class, both here and in Yokohama and Yedo. . . . Whatever may be right elsewhere, there ought to be no question about having the Japanese support their own pastors and build their own churches from almost the first, if not from the very first."

The medical work of Dr. Berry, in the same field, gave promise of being self-supporting. In February, when writing of visits made to places near Kobe, he said:

"The plan of requiring that the medicines dispensed to the sick poor be paid for by the wealthy is working admirably. Besides paying for all the medicines prescribed during each trip (amounting the last time to about $50), they have raised $2,500 for three charitable hospitals, which we hope to have under full headway within six weeks. It is easy to see what the influence of such a course will be upon the question of self-support among

the churches, which, from present indications, will soon concern us."

A word may be added about the method by which Dr. Berry and some other medical missionaries won the good will of the Japanese physicians. They made it a rule not to see patients except as consulting physicians in company with Japanese doctors who took charge of the case. Thus the latter were not deprived of their practice by the foreigner, they received their fees as before, and in addition they obtained valuable instruction. A further advantage was that the patient, being under closer supervision than the missionary could give, was more likely to carry out directions concerning medicine and diet. Japanese doctors were very desirous to learn the Western system of medical practice. The physicians of a city would unite in opening a dispensary to which they invited the medical missionary; and these dispensaries often proved gateways by which the Gospel entered the towns where they were established. The medical work did much to break down prejudice against foreigners, which was still very strong. Dr. Wallace Taylor of the American Board Mission has written:

"I well remember our first going into Himeji; how we were scrupulously shut up in our *jinrikishas* from view for miles before we reached the place, hurriedly run into a large *samurai yashiki* [quarters formerly occupied by the military classes], and the huge gate immediately shut and barred behind us. We were prisoners and carefully watched, not that we might not get out, but that no one should get in to harm us. Here we were kept and not allowed out, but patients were brought to us. After a few visits, when our patients had made known what we were and the character of our work, we were allowed out on the street, but only within certain limits and always accompanied by a guard whose vigilance we could not evade."

April 19, 1874, a church of eleven members was organised in Kobe. Several Christians from Osaka, twenty miles distant, walked to Kobe in order to be present at services similar to those that a month later (May 24) were to take place in their own city, when seven of them were formed into a church.

From the first the Kobe Church showed great activity,* sustaining a daily service in the hospital and sending its members to other cities for evangelistic efforts. In June the church numbered nine men and five women; and of the men, eight desired to be trained for preaching the Gospel. More than half of the members of the little church in Osaka expressed the same desire. One missionary wrote:

"This whole region around us seems to have received the impression that to become a member of the church means to become a preacher of the Word. A short time since, when the question of forming a church was proposed to a little company of Christians in Sanda, twenty miles north of Kobe, one objection came to all their minds at once, that they did not know enough to *preach* yet."

The churches in Kobe and Osaka, like those previously organised in Yokohama and Tokyo, possessed no denominational name. The missionaries of the American Board, at their annual meeting in May, took the following action:

"Resolved: That we as a Mission declare that we are unequivocally in favour of union; that we have never for a moment wavered from our unanimous desire for union as expressed at the Convention in Yokohama in September, 1872, and that we are organising and shall continue to organise our churches on the basis adopted at that Convention."

It after a time, however, became plain that there were differences of opinion concerning the scope of the resolutions of 1872; the missionaries of the American Board supposing it would be sufficient if all the churches were one in name, belief, designation of officers, and general method of procedure; while some among the missionaries in Tokyo and Yokohama insisted that there should be more complete uniformity and organic union in a Presby-

*The statement has been made and might appear to rest on contemporaneous evidence (*Mis. Herald*, 1874, p. 273,) that this church prepared its own creed and rules. In fact, they were written out in English by Rev. J. D. Davis, translated into Japanese, and then adopted by those that were to form the church. I have seen the original English.

terial system. In the autumn the Presbyterian Mission organised churches in Yokohama and Tokyo "on a strictly Presbyterian basis," thus deviating from the simpler form adopted by earlier organisations. The one in Tokyo was in a large measure the result of work done in the schools that were under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Carrothers. It was described as "a very active body. Connected with it were a Sunday school, a Bible-class, the beginning of a theological class, a debating society, several preaching-places in the city, and outstations at Shinagawa and Hoden. Shortly after its formation the Mission built for this church a cheap but comfortable chapel."

In Nagasaki it was found necessary to discontinue the girls' school that had been carried on for nearly two years by the Reformed Mission, appeals to the Board for teachers having proved fruitless. The time had come, however, for more active evangelistic work in that city, and the Mission erected a chapel which, though blown down when near completion, was speedily rebuilt, so that it was used for services in December.

At the other extremity of the Empire, Rev. M. C. Harris and wife, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, had reached Hakodate in January, 1874, being the first Protestant missionaries to settle in Yezo. They were followed in the summer by Rev. and Mrs. Walter Dening of the Church Missionary Society. As Mr. Dening was accompanied by a Christian from Nagasaki, he was able to begin services at once. Large numbers of people listened to the preaching, and the first baptism took place on Christmas Day. In December Rev. and Mrs. John Ing, missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church, were passing through Japan on their way home from China, and he accepted an invitation to become a teacher in Hirosaki, a city in the northern part of Hondo. Probably this was to take the position held the year before by Mr. Wolff.

In December, 1874, Messrs. Okuno and Ogawa, elders respectively of churches in Yokohama and Tokyo, conducted the funeral of a Christian. For this they were called to account by the officials. They were closely in-

terrogated on several occasions, and it was not until September of the next year that they were finally dismissed after being reprimanded for what they had done. For several years the burial of Christian believers gave rise to troublesome questions. Most graveyards were connected with Buddhist temples, and the laws would not permit burials elsewhere. Thus it was in the power of the priests to give Christians much annoyance. A few years later, one of the missionaries in writing about the burial of a believer, said:

"A grave had been already purchased in the grounds of a Buddhist temple, but the priest refused permission to bury, closing the gates and offering to return the money. A Shinto priest was then appealed to, but it was not until after a night and a day had been spent in running hither and thither, and a promise not to specially mark the grave, that a grave was obtained. The service was performed in the house, and the priest simply acted as registrar."

Frequently it was necessary to allow the priests to say masses in connection with the burial of Christians. After the funeral service had been held in the house of the deceased, or in the church, the Christian friends would leave the body at the entrance of the temple until the priest had completed his ceremonies, when the friends would again take up the coffin and bear it to the grave. Often, however, the priests would be satisfied to receive burial fees, after which they kindly forgot the necessity of chanting their prayers. On the other hand, there were priests that made the most of their opportunity to oppress the Christians. In one place they refused to permit a woman to be buried unless her husband would promise to renounce Christianity. After holding out three days, he rendered a nominal submission, though resolving in his heart that he would not give up his faith. We cannot judge him harshly when we remember that, being the only Christian in that part of the country, he had no one to advise him, and that he was liable to arrest if he allowed the body to remain longer unburied. When Dr. Joseph Neesima died in 1890, the Buddhist priests would not allow his body to be buried beside that of his father, be-

cause they regarded him as "the very head of Christianity in Japan."

A statement made in May, 1875, said that there were then not less than ten places in Yokohama, twenty-five in Tokyo, ten in the Kobe-Osaka district, and five in other places, making fifty in all, where regular Christian services were held as often as once a week, with audiences varying from twenty to two hundred in number. The people were rapidly losing all fear of governmental interference in religious matters, while their interest in the truths of Christianity seemed to be increasing. The previous year, several chapels had been secured in Tokyo and Yokohama without any opposition from the Government, and a Protestant church building was in process of erection in Tokyo, the property being held by four trustees. The object of the building was distinctly avowed to be that of Christian worship, and a declaration to that effect had been presented to an officer of the City Government.* In July, 1875, the Church Missionary Society erected a church in Nagasaki. Its turret was surmounted by a cross, which was the more noteworthy because the city had been the place where the ceremony of trampling on the sacred symbol had formerly been most observed. Before this, indeed, the towers of the Roman Catholic Church were adorned with crosses; but at the time of its erection, in 1864, that building had been looked upon by the officials as intended for the use of foreigners.

Another church built at this time was in Yokohama. Known as the Union Church, and also as the Kaigan Church, it served for more than thirty years as a place of worship for the foreign community and also for the oldest Japanese church. Of the $8,000 expended in its construction, $1,000 came from the Christians of the Sandwich Islands, who, on hearing of Commodore Perry's expedition, had contributed money to be used, whenever possible, for a church building in Japan; $1,000 had been contributed by Hon. Townsend Harris, in 1861, under like conditions; $500 by Hon. R. H. Pruyn, Mr. Harris's successor; and $50 by British seamen.

* *Mis. Herald*, 1875, p. 266.

The same year saw the erection of two buildings for the use of girls' schools. Mention has already been made of the day-school taught by Miss Kidder, in Yokohama. Feeling that much more could be accomplished if the pupils were brought more constantly under helpful influences, she leased an acre of land from the local government and applied to her home church for funds to be used in the erection of a boarding department. The Sunday-school children of America responded to this call, so that in June, 1875, a building with accommodations for forty pupils was formally opened. At first the pupils numbered fourteen, all of whom had before attended the day-school. The boarders paid three dollars a month for rooms, fuel, light, food, washing, and tuition; they furnishing their own clothing, bedding, books, and stationery. Common-school branches were taught in English, and there was also instruction in Japanese and Chinese. Daily religious services were held.*

In Kobe Miss Talcott and Miss Dudley of the American Board Mission had taught classes of girls since 1873; but to them also it seemed that the time had come for a boarding school. They were encouraged to go forward by the interest that was shown by Japanese friends, who contributed eight hundred *yen* for the building, a *yen* at that time being worth nearly as much as an American gold dollar. Other money came from America. In order to make the sum at the disposal of the mission go as far as possible, the building was made very plain, the contract with the carpenter stipulating that there was "not to be a moulding on it or about it." It was planned to accommodate thirty girls with their teachers. "It was much too large for the faith of some good friends of the school, but in less than two years another building was imperatively demanded." Towards the second building Japanese gave six hundred *yen,* while foreigners living in Kobe gave two hundred *yen.* For later buildings the Japanese have also contributed liberally.

These and other schools have often had to contend against opposition, jealousy, and suspicion. A few years

* Report of Osaka Conference, p. 72; *Japan Evangelist,* VII., 386.

after the opening of Ferris Seminary, as the school in Yokohama was called, the father of one of the pupils from the interior came and asked if he might see the buildings.

"His conduct seemed somewhat peculiar, for he wanted to be shown every nook and corner. Finally he addressed the matron in the most confidential manner, saying that he had been told by a Buddhist priest that foreigners at the school where his daughter was had been sent out from their country to obtain a very precious drug, which could only be obtained from the bodies of Japanese girls; that it was very costly; and that was why they could put up such fine schools and take pupils at such low rates. 'Tell me truly,' said he, 'for you too are a Japanese; you must know of this, if it is true. Do these foreigners attach a machine to the bodies of the pupils while they sleep?'" *

In 1875 there was begun in Kyoto, though only in a hired building, a school for young men. Previously the missionaries of the American Board had sought to gain an entrance into the old capital of the Empire and a Christian whose home was in Kyoto had joined with another from Kobe in asking the Central Government if a missionary could reside in the former city. It was necessary that the document should have the stamp of the ward officer before it could be forwarded, but this official wrote to the chief petitioner that he did not dare to set his seal to such a request. Soon after this, in November, 1874, there returned to Japan a native of the country, who was to be the means of opening Kyoto to the Gospel and of establishing there Christian schools whose graduates would take an important part in the evangelisation of the land.

Joseph Hardy Neesima,† to use that form of writing his name that is best known to readers of English, was born in Yedo, January 14, 1843, his father being a retainer of the Daimyo of Annaka. He was about sixteen years old when, as told in an account of his life that he wrote in imperfect English after he had been about six months in America:

* *Japan Evangelist*, VII., p. 390.

† *Niishima* would be the form of the family name if the system of transliteration now in general use were followed.

"My comrade lent me an atlas of United States of North America, which was written with China letter by some American minister. I read it many times and I was wondered so much as my brain would melted out from my head, picking out President, Building, Free School, Poor House, House of Correction, and machine-working, etc. And I thought that a governor of our country must be as President of the United States. And I murmured myself that, O Governor of Japan! why you keep down us as a dog or a pig? We are people of Japan. If you govern us you must love us as your children. From that time I wished to learn American knowledge, but alas, I could not get any teacher to learn it. . . . I visited my friend and I found out small Holy Bible in his library that was written by some American minister with China language, and had shown only the most remarkable events of it. I lend it from him and read it at night, because I was afraid the savage country's law, which if I read the Bible, government will cross [crucify] whole my family. I understood God at first, and He separated the earth from firmament and light upon the earth, made grass, trees, creatures, fowls, fishes. And he created a man in His own image, and made up a woman, cutting a man's side bone. After He made up all things of universe, He took a rest. That day we must call Sunday or Sabbath day. I understood that Jesus Christ was Son of Holy Ghost, and He was crossed for the sins of all the world; therefore we must call Him our Saviour. Then I put down the book and look around me, saying that; Who made me? My parents? No, God. Who made my table? A carpenter? No, God. God let trees grow upon the earth, and although God let a carpenter made up my table, it indeed came from some tree. Then I must be thankful to God. I must believe Him, and I must be upright against Him. From that time my mind was fulfilled to read English Bible, and purposed to go to Hakodate to get English or American teacher of it. Therefore I asked of my prince and parents to go thither. But they had not allowed to me for it, and were alarmed at it. But my stableness would not destroy by their expostulations, and I kept such thoughts, praying only to God; please! let me reach my aim." *

Finally, in 1864, without having obtained the desired permission, he made his way to Hakodate, where he was for a while Père Nicolai's teacher of Japanese. His desire to go to America was very strong; but, if caught in an attempt to leave the country, the penalty would be death. At last he managed to escape and went to Shanghai, where the captain of a ship bound for Boston consented to let him work his passage thither. Before leav-

* The full account is given in Hardy's "Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima."

ing Shanghai, he sold one of the two swords that as a *samurai* he was accustomed to wear, and with the proceeds he bought an English Bible. Often during the passage, when harshly treated by the sailors, he was tempted to use the other sword upon his persecutors; but thoughts of his great purpose to obtain an education in America restrained his hand and gave him patience.

In Boston, the owner of the ship, Hon. Alpheus Hardy, a Christian merchant, who was deeply interested in missions, took the young man for a servant, and soon seeing his great worth, sent him successively to Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., to Amherst College, and to Andover Theological Seminary. Before he had completed his theological studies, the Japanese embassy, headed by Prince Iwakura, came to America and wished him to become an interpreter to assist them in their investigation of the educational institutions of America and Europe. By the advice of his friends he accepted the position, which not only gave him exceptionally good opportunities for seeing the schools of different countries, but also won for him the friendship and esteem of those whose official positions enabled them in after years to help him carry out his plan for establishing a Christian school in Japan. When his duties with the embassy were at an end, he refused the flattering offer made to him if he would return with it to Japan, and went back to his theological studies at Andover. After graduation he was ordained in Boston to the Christian ministry. He was appointed a corresponding member of the Japan Mission of the American Board, his support continuing to come from Mr. Hardy, who was Chairman of the Board's Prudential Committee. Just before he was to leave America, the annual meeting of the Board was held at Rutland, Vermont, (October, 1874), and he had been asked to say a few words. At the last moment he put aside the speech that he had carefully prepared, and with broken voice and overflowing eyes made an earnest plea that a Christian school of high grade should be established in his country He closed by saying: "I cannot go back to Japan without the money to found a Christian college, and I am going to stand here until I get it." The

audience was greatly moved by this appeal, and nearly five thousand dollars were subscribed on the spot.

On reaching Japan, he at once went to see his aged parents in Annaka. As the people of that town were eager to hear about his adventures, he took the opportunity to speak openly concerning Christianity. This was perhaps the beginning of direct Christian preaching in the interior, and the officials were puzzled to know what ought to be done about it. The Governor went in person to consult the authorities in Tokyo, who said to him: "If it is Neesima, it is all right; let him alone." Thus early did the advantages from Mr. Neesima's connection with the embassy begin to appear.

Mr. Neesima soon proceeded to Kobe and Osaka in order to consult with the members of the American Board Mission. They were earnestly in favour of establishing a Christian college. The need for it was emphasised by the fact that among the foreign teachers employed in the Imperial University and other schools were men of immoral lives, while some others took pleasure in ridiculing Christianity and the Bible. The first thought was to establish the school in Osaka. The Governor of that city, however, was a bitter opponent of Christianity, who had been concerned in the recent persecution of the Roman Catholics. He expressed his willingness to have a school, but only on condition that no missionary should teach in it.

Attention was now turned to Kyoto. In 1872 members of the Mission had become acquainted with Mr. Yamamoto, a blind man who was a private counsellor to the Kyoto Government. The acquaintance had been continued, and in the spring of 1875 Dr. Gordon presented him with a copy of Dr. Martin's "Evidences of Christianity," printed in Chinese. A short time after this, when Mr. Neesima met Mr. Yamamoto, the latter said that the book had cleared away his doubts concerning Christianity. "Christianity alone," he said, "can reach and renovate the very spring of the human heart. The day has dawned upon me, so that I can see the path that before was utterly unknown to me, for which I have been unconsciously seeking." Through his influence the

provincial governor was led to approve the plans for the school. Mr. Yamamoto also promised to let it have for a very small sum a large lot of land that until lately had been occupied by the mansion of the Daimyo of Satsuma. It is interesting to note that it was here that Shimazu Saburo had written the introduction to "Bemmo," the treatise against Christianity of which mention has already been made.

It was now necessary to get the consent of the Central Government. Mr. Neesima went to Tokyo, where he saw Mr. Tanaka, the Minister of Education. It was with him that Mr. Neesima had been most closely associated while with the embassy. At first the Minister said that it would be impossible to grant permission for the founding of a Christian school in Kyoto, the stronghold of Buddhism. Finally, however, he yielded, after warning Mr. Neesima to be careful not to do anything that would arouse the prejudice of the people. Messrs. Neesima and Yamamoto then formed the company that for many years consisted of only themselves, and chose for it the name "Doshisha" or "Same Purpose Company." Rev. J. D. Davis, who had done much of the planning for the institution, was engaged as its first foreign teacher. He went to Kyoto in October, and in the house that was hired for him began holding Bible-classes every Sunday.

The Buddhist priests soon learned of what was being planned, and held many large and excited meetings to decide what they could do to prevent their holy city from being defiled by the foreign religion. They finally forwarded a protest to the Central Government. The power of Buddhism was so great in Kyoto that the local officials feared to encounter the enmity of the priests and became less friendly to Mr. Neesima. They summoned him to explain the meaning of the word "*Seisho*" (Holy Scriptures) which appeared in the list of studies. Soon a request came from the Governor that for a time the Bible should not be taught in the school. To this Mr. Neesima assented. The Governor said that Christianity might be taught under the name of Moral Science, and that direct Biblical instruction could be given to the

students in the homes of the teachers. He added that an uprising of the Satsuma men was feared and that the excitement aroused by the establishment of the school would be utilised by them for gaining adherents. The Shinto officials united with the Buddhists in trying to bring pressure upon the Government to keep out the missionaries. A few foreigners living in the city were encouraging the Buddhists. A physician from Holland who was employed in a hospital told the missionaries that they might as well try to throw Mt. Hiei into Lake Biwa as to start a Christian school in Kyoto. Yet it was started, and as Mr. Davis wrote, "The acorn is in the bottle, and it will in time, with God's blessing, split the bottle." In a letter dated November 29, 1875, he also wrote: "We began our school this morning in Mr. Neesima's house at eight o'clock with a prayer-meeting in which all the scholars took part; then going to the schoolhouse, two others were received, making seven boarding scholars and one day scholar." That winter the number of students increased to about forty.

Most of the first pupils in the Doshisha were Christians that had come from the churches already established in other cities. The membership of the Kobe Church had doubled in the first year and that of the Osaka Church had nearly done the same, while in July a church had been organised in Sanda. Mr. Davis had written in October:

> "The Kobe Church now numbers thirty-two members, twenty men and twelve women. Of these twenty men, thirteen have from the time they were received into the church or before been preachers of the Word,—not paid as native helpers by the Mission, but going out on the Sabbath, and during the week, and on tours of ten days, at their own charges, to preach. Regular preaching has been and is now kept up by them weekly in five different places, and monthly in about as many more. They have gone on foot to do this, or have paid for carriage hire and other expenses out of their very limited means, refusing foreign money to do it."

Dr. Taylor, in company with one of the members of the Kobe Church, had visited in July, 1875, the city of Okayama, about eighty miles west of Kobe. In the ten

days spent there, he saw large numbers of patients. Preaching services were held every evening; at first in the hotel, and afterwards at the house of the principal of the high school. The hospital desired Dr. Taylor to come for permanent residence in the city. He expressed his willingness to do this if the necessary permission for himself and family could be gained from the Central Government. When the passport came, however, it was for only Dr. Taylor himself, it being said that Mrs. Taylor and the children would be of no assistance to the hospital. Before arrangements for including them in the passport were completed, it was decided that Dr. Taylor should become a teacher in the Doshisha School. The acquaintances made at Okayama helped, however, to open the way by which, three years later, other workers entered that city.

Dr. Palm of the Edinburgh Medical Mission removed in 1875 to Niigata, where he began medical and evangelistic work. For three months a Japanese evangelist who accompanied him preached daily in Dr. Palm's house. Though much interest was manifested, there was also considerable opposition, the influence of Buddhism being very strong in that region. About the close of the year, in response to a request made to the Yokohama Church, Mr. Oshikawa Masayoshi was sent to Niigata to carry on the work already begun. Mr. Fyson, of the Church Missionary Society, also took up his residence in Niigata.

In May, Rev. W. Dening, of the Church Missionary Society, opened a service in what had formerly been a large shop on the main street of Hakodate. On the second Sunday he baptised in the presence of a large crowd Mr. Ogawa, who afterwards became a prominent evangelist. Soon after this, active opposition began, Mr. Ogawa being annoyed and persecuted in many ways. Mr. Dening wrote, June 24:

"The Governor and other local authorities were excessively annoyed that I had obtained the use of a house on the main street. Hitherto all Christian services have been carried on in somewhat obscure quarters of the town—usually in the missionary's house. This is the first time that Christianity has been exposed to public view, as it were, in Hakodate. The young con-

vert Ogawa, who took the house on my behalf, was called up by the authorities, again and again threatened, and charged not to allow any teaching or preaching in the name of Jesus in his house. He informed them he could not obey their commands, that he believed in Christianity himself, and wished to make it known to others, and he could not interfere with my work. I have reason for believing that the whole matter was referred to Tokyo; but no steps have been taken to carry the opposition further. But the Governor forbade the people to attend the service, frequently sent spies, and once came himself to see who were present."

In March, 1875, a Shinto priest had addressed the following memorial to the Vice-Minister of Religion:

"It has been ordered by the Government that religious tenets are left to the option of the people, and directions have been given to the teachers of both Shintoism and Buddhism whereby they are caused to guide the people in accordance with the 'three articles of religion.' I have, however, heard that of late in the foreign settlements in our country, foreign religious precepts are being incessantly promulgated, and that our people are in a friendly way enticed thereby. Now, such teachings as these, from the very commencement, hold lord and father in light regard, and eventually cause men to fall into the habit of setting at naught their ruler and of disregarding their parents. The fact of this teaching being pernicious to the Empire is a matter needing from the very first no discussion. I have been told of this, and am unfortunately too unworthily holding a minor office of religious instruction, and am thus unable to refrain from slight consideration as to whether it would be a source of trouble were I, at the time of my expounding religious precepts, to publicly throw open to reproach the foreign doctrines. I beg that you will promptly give me clear directions, and so humbly beg to make the above interrogation."

To this the Department of Religion replied:

"Permission is granted according to the enquiry above. However, in matters outside the province of religion, careful attention must, of course, be paid that no hindrance shall arise of such a nature as to affect the public (i.e., international) relations of the Government." *

An elder and about ten members of the Shinsakae-bashi Presbyterian Church in Tokyo withdrew from it in 1875, and formed themselves into an independent body to which they gave the name "Japan Church." According

* *Japan Weekly Mail*, May, 29, 1875.

to the historian of the Church of Christ in Japan (Presbyterian): "The motive of organising this new church consisted in enforcing an extreme anti-foreign principle of independence, because all the churches at those times were under the assistance of foreign churches and missionaries, who had naturally a great influence in those churches." In 1883 these Christians united with others to form the Reinanzaka Church, the first of the Kumi-ai (Congregational) body that was organised in Tokyo.*

In June Mr. Ing baptised fourteen young men in Hirosaki, the fruit of his own labours and those of Mr. Honda Yuitsu, a member of the Kaigan Church in Yokohama. These Christians wrote to that church in August asking that they might be organised as a church. The request being granted, the Hirosaki Church was formed and Mr. Honda was made its elder. In 1876 it became associated with the Methodist body.†

Besides these churches and the one in Sanda already mentioned, those organised in 1875 were one in Hoden, a suburb of Tokyo, that was connected with the Presbyterian Mission, and one in Tokyo connected with the Methodists. The Methodist Mission also organised its first quarterly conference.

December 27, 1875, appeared the first Christian newspaper. It bore the name *Shichi Ichi Zappo* (Weekly News) and was edited by Rev. O. H. Gulick of the American Board Mission.

Early in March, 1876, the Government issued a decree that from the beginning of the next month Sunday should be the official day of rest. We have already seen how the foreign teachers resisted the attempt to force upon them another system of holidays. Some other Europeans and Americans in the employ of the Government had also insisted upon having their Sundays; and the convenience of the offices demanded that Japanese and foreigners should rest upon the same day. The Government, of course, did not have any religious motives for adopting

* *Japan Evangelist*, 1896, p. 77.
† *Ib.*, 1898, pp. 77 and 225.

the new system; but the observance of Sunday as a holiday in offices, schools, and to some extent in business houses, has proved a great help to missionary work.

On the last Sunday of January, 1876, a number of young men from the city of Kumamoto went to a hill on the outskirts of the town, where they entered into a solemn covenant, pledging themselves to follow Christ and "to enlighten the darkness of the Empire by preaching the Gospel, even at the sacrifice of their lives." They were pupils of a school in which Captain Janes, a retired officer of the United States Army, had for several years been a teacher of English. During the first part of his connection with the school he had said nothing about Christianity; but he had won a great influence over his pupils. After he had been a year or two in Kumamoto he offered to teach the Bible in his own house to any that would like to study it. There was much difference of opinion among the students about what they should do. Most of them said that they ought not to have anything to do with a book that taught such evil doctrines as those of the Christians; a few said that out of courtesy to a teacher who had treated them so kindly, they ought to accept his invitation; while some others held that, as knowledge of an enemy is the first step towards victory over him, they, whose duty it would probably be to prevent Christianity from getting a hold upon the hearts of the people, must find out what it taught, so that they might intelligently oppose it. At first ten of the pupils went to study the Bible, and afterwards they were joined by others. Ere long, some of these became convinced of the truth of Christianity. Among these were Messrs. Miyagawa Tsuneteru, Ebina Danjo, Yokoi Tokio, Kanamori Tsurin, Shimomura Kotaro, Morita Kumando,* and others who afterwards were prominent in Christian work. Finally there were over forty who, as above narrated, met to pledge themselves to God's service.

As soon as this became known, there was great excitement, not only in the school, but throughout the city.

*Mr. Kozaki Hiromichi, who held off for some time from joining the class, did not become a Christian until after the persecution became violent.

The young men were persecuted by their fellow-students and by members of their own families. Most of them were called home by their parents. Their Bibles were burned, and they were told not to touch such books again. The widowed mother of one student told him that, as he had shown lack of reverence for his ancestors by action that brought disgrace upon the family, he ought, if unwilling to give up the evil religion, to slay himself with a sword. As he showed no signs of yielding, she took the sword and made preparations for killing herself; but the servants ran out and summoned help to prevent her from carrying out her purpose. A few years later she herself became an earnest Christian. When one father drew his sword and threatened to kill his son, the latter bent forward his head, thus expressing his willingness to receive the blow. Another student, after being imprisoned for a hundred days, was cast out from his home. Some of the young men yielded to the opposition, but about thirty stood firm. Most of them soon went to the Doshisha School in Kyoto to prepare for Christian work. They were known as the "Kumamoto Band," and several of them became prominent leaders in the church.*

This movement among students in the southern island had in the far north what was in some respects its counterpart, though without the bitter persecution. Among the teachers employed by the Government was Colonel W. S. Clark, President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, who temporarily left his own school in order that he might help to organise a similar institution in Sapporo. From the first, he tried by word and deed to exert a Christian influence. Among other duties he was

*It is still too early for the sadder side of this story to be written in full. Suffice it now to say that in later years Captain Janes was not in sympathy with revealed religion. In 1893 he again came to Japan and became a teacher in a government school in Kyoto. The love that his former pupils had for their teacher combined with other influences to lead a few of them to join him in opposition to the teaching of the missionaries. Though his course was such as soon loosened his hold upon them, all did not recover the faith that was so shaken by the very one who had been the instrument for arousing it.

expected to teach ethics, and when some of the Japanese officials objected to his saying anything about religion, he held up a Bible, saying: "If I am to teach morality, I must insist on having this as a text-book." Being one of those men who quickly win confidence and are able to carry their own way, he soon overcame opposition. Not only was his teaching in the school permeated with Christian thought, but on Sundays he preached the Gospel directly to those who would come to his house and listen. He gained a great influence over the students, and though he remained in Sapporo only about a year, his whole class, fifteen in number, signed a covenant whose opening paragraph was as follows:

"The undersigned, members of Sapporo Agricultural College, desiring to confess Christ according to His command, and to perform with true fidelity every Christian duty in order to show our love and gratitude to that blessed Saviour who has made atonement for our sins by His death on the cross; and earnestly wishing to advance His Kingdom among men for the promotion of His glory and the salvation of those for whom He died, do solemnly covenant with God and with each other from this time forth to be his faithful disciples and to live in strict compliance with the letter and the spirit of His teachings; and whenever a suitable opportunity offers, we promise to present ourselves for examination, baptism, and admission to some evangelical church."

The young men were so earnest that, when another class entered the school, they tried "to convert the Freshies by storm," as is declared by one of the latter, who also describes his own efforts to resist their unwelcome persuasions to accept the new faith. The writer finally yielded; for, he says, "The public opinion of the college was too strong against me. . . . They forced me to sign the covenant." * He with his classmates swelled the number of covenanters to thirty. They formed the basis of what became the Independent Church of Sapporo.

The church in Kobe received a request from two men living in Matsuyama, a city about two hundred miles

*Uchimura, "How I Became a Christian," p. 12.

distant on the island of Shikoku, asking that some one be sent to preach the Christian religion to themselves and their friends. There being no one who could go for permanent residence, Rev. J. L. Atkinson, a missionary of the American Board, decided that he would visit the city, and the church voted to pay the expenses of two of its members who should accompany him. Just as they were about to start, a letter came asking them to delay a few days. After waiting a month, it was decided about the end of March, 1876, to start at once, since the time covered by Mr. Atkinson's passport for travel in the interior, was fast slipping away. At the port where they landed from the steamer they received a letter from the brother of the man with whom they had been in correspondence, saying that he was away from home. Mr. Atkinson with one of his companions remained in the place where they were, while the other evangelist went on to Matsuyama, about three miles distant. He found that there had been a quarrel in the family of the man that had invited them, and also that there was considerable excitement in the city over the report that Christian teachers were coming. The Shinto and Buddhist priests had been in consultation to devise means for averting the threatening evil. On the other hand, the Governor of the district had received notice that a foreigner who was coming to the city would probably teach Christianity, and care must be taken that there was no disturbance. Some of the officials arranged for a meeting at which they desired Mr. Atkinson to speak to them. After several meetings had been held in small rooms, a house that would hold three hundred and fifty people was hired and notices of the services were posted upon the streets. The rooms were usually crowded with attentive hearers. About a fortnight was spent in Matsuyama and several days in Imabari, a city about thirty miles distant. Thus were the beginnings made of a work that in after years made these two cities centres of Christian influence.

The proof afforded by this trip that some parts, at least, of the interior were open to the Gospel, was the more welcome because in January, Mr. Imamura Kenkichi, a member of the Kobe Church, and afterwards well

known as a Christian publisher, was summoned before the courts for giving away Christian tracts while visiting Kanazawa Prefecture the previous autumn. It was at the instance of the Governor of that prefecture that he was called to account and was closely questioned as to who wrote the tracts, who printed them, whether the foreigners gave them to him, etc. It was not until June that he was declared free from blame.

A Christian of Yokohama while on his way to Niigata was surprised to find in Ueda (Shinshu), more than a hundred miles west of Yokohama, a little company of believers. Only two of them had ever met a missionary or listened to Christian preaching. Both of these had heard a little in Tokyo, and one of them also in Nagasaki. They had carried back to their homes information of what they had learned, and though one of them had met much opposition from the members of his family, there were several persons who had been impressed with the truths thus brought to their notice, and they desired to receive fuller instruction. In August, Rev. and Mrs. E. R. Miller went to Ueda, and after spending some time there Mr. Miller baptised fifteen persons. Later in the year Mr. Ballagh baptised several others and organised a church, the first one established at any great distance from an open port.

A few other churches were organised in 1876. Among them were three in the city of Kyoto, most of the members being students of the Doshisha.

About the beginning of the year 1877 a Japanese Christian received from the Government permission to translate and publish Williamson's "Natural Theology." This is worthy of notice because, so far as known, it was the first permission given for the publication of a distinctively Christian book.*

The work was spreading into the interior in various directions. In January, Rev. G. M. Meacham, of the Canadian Methodist Mission, who had been teaching in Numazu, baptised the principal of the school, two other teachers, and three pupils. A colporteur connected with

**Missionary Herald,* 1877, p. 158.

the American Methodists had visited Shinshu Province, and it was in part a result of his labours that earnest invitations came from several cities asking that they be visited by a missionary. In October and November, Rev. I. H. Correll made a tour through the province and established in Matsumoto and other cities classes for religious instruction. Rev. J. Soper, of the same mission, visited the province of Shimosa where, in the city of Ajiki, he organised a class of twelve candidates for baptism. Earlier in the year, Rev. J. L. Atkinson, of the American Board Mission had made an extensive tour along the northern shore of the Inland Sea and in Shikoku, finding promising openings at almost every place he visited. He made arrangements by which several students of the Doshisha Theological School spent their summer vacation in the most important towns. Another of these students spent the vacation in Annaka, Mr. Neesima's former home, where at the close of the summer, fifteen persons banded themselves together in a Christian company.

At one place visited by Mr. Atkinson, the Buddhist priests decided that the best way to oppose the Christian religion would be to get the people to sign a pledge that they would have nothing to do with its teachers. This method was frequently adopted by the priests in later years; and they usually found it easy to get large numbers to promise that they would not attend Christian meetings, and that they would cease to have social or business relations with any person that accepted the hated religion. The following is a specimen of these pledges:

"Christianity is calculated to disturb the minds of the people and diminish the power of the Empire. When that religion prevailed in Japan many years ago, several feudal lords and numbers of their followers were induced to join. It was soon ascertained that the Christians plotted the overthrow of the Government and deposition of the Emperor; therefore, Christianity was prohibited. The Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu suppressed the foreign creed and slaughtered several hundreds of thousands of those who professed Christianity. Now, however, it appears that this false religion may be introduced to our village, and those who adopt it will be inspired with rebellious notions, from which

great calamities must ensue. Therefore we agree that if any native of this village becomes a Christian, we will cease to have any intercourse with him, and if any person dwelling here, not being a native, embraces the foreign creed, we will send him back to his birthplace." *

Sometimes the people of their own accord made similar engagements. In one place several persons signed a paper in which they agreed that if any of the number became a Christian, the others might say anything, however bad, against him, and his signature would be their guaranty against his taking legal or other redress.

The missionaries who visited the interior were obliged to obtain passports from the Imperial Government. These were granted only for "health" or for "scientific investigation," the object of the restriction probably being to prevent foreigners from going into the country to trade. It became a practical question with missionaries whether they were justified in using passports thus worded. While the Foreign Department was unwilling to change the form of the documents or to make a public definition of how the words were to be interpreted, the heads of the Department at different times gave unofficial assurances that missionaries might use the passports for religious work. By most of the latter this was taken as being the equivalent of an official definition of the words; but some others felt that they could not conscientiously use such passports for evangelistic tours.

Foreigners were not allowed to reside in the interior except as they were employed by Japanese. In such cases it was necessary to have written contracts that were approved by both the local and the Imperial governments. Some missionaries accepted positions as teachers, and they usually found that no serious obstacles were put in the way of their improving the opportunities for doing religious work that came from their residence in the interior.

In the spring of 1876 the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (North), the Reformed Church in America, and the United Presbyterian

* *Hiogo News*, December 1, 1881.

Church of Scotland formed the "Council of the Three Missions" made up of two delegates from each mission. One of its chief objects was to effect a union of the Japanese churches that had been formed in connection with their labours. The rules drawn up by this council, and adopted by the churches, recommended the Westminster Shorter Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Canons of the Synod of Dort, as the standards of doctrine; and the rules of church government were modelled upon those of Presbyterian churches in the West, though somewhat changed so as to suit Japanese conditions. The name adopted for the new body signified "The United Church of Christ in Japan." A few years later the word "United" was dropped from the title. The first meeting of the new organisation was held in Yokohama, October 3, 1877. Besides the missionaries, there were eight elders representing the same number of churches. These churches had a membership of six hundred and twenty-three. Requests were received for the organisation of three new churches.

At this meeting, three persons were ordained to the Christian ministry. Their names were Okuno Masatsuna, Ogawa Yoshiyasu, and Toda Tadaatsu.

Mr. Okuno was born in Yedo in 1823. He belonged to the military class, both his own father and the man that afterwards adopted him being vassals of the Tokugawa Shoguns. At the time of the overthrowal of the Shogunate he was serving as an official in the household of Ninnoji no Miya, the uncle of the Emperor Mutsuhito. An attempt was made to set up this prince as a rival emperor, and Mr. Okuno was among those that joined the army raised for this purpose by the northern daimyos. This movement soon ended in failure. Mr. Okuno, who was reduced to poverty, was still loyal to the house of his former master and longed to see it restored to its former prosperity. As a help in bringing this about, he had recourse to fasting and penance. He resolved to offer up petitions for help at all the Shinto shrines in Yedo. Setting out in the winter, he repeated his prayers at each shrine and poured cold water over his body. In

fifty days the number of these ablutions had amounted to ten thousand. Sometimes he fasted for periods of seven days, eating absolutely nothing. He became so weak that he depended on his friends to help him as he crawled from one place to another; yet on arriving in front of a shrine, he would pour bucketful after bucketful of ice-cold water over his head until his skin turned black and his emaciated body could hardly be kept from falling. When the bamboo tallies with which he kept account of the number of douches had been used up, his friends would help him to some house where they would seek to restore vitality to his almost frozen body. After he had visited five hundred shrines in this way, he returned to his family. His prayers and intercessions had been in vain, and his friends undertook to find out why the gods had not granted his desires. Thus it was ascertained that in his weakness he had sometimes failed to reach a shrine at the proper time. He therefore went over the whole weary round once more; but still the gods were unmoved. He told his friends that his efforts were vain and he could do no more. He had spent their money and his for naught; he had starved himself to a skeleton and almost destroyed his life; but not one comforting response had come from any of the gods.* Soon after this he found employment with Dr. Hepburn, helping him in the preparation of his dictionary. Being thus brought under Christian influences, he at last became a believer in the truths of the Gospel, and he ever after showed a spirit as earnest as marked the days when he sought help by pilgrimages and penances.

Mr. Ogawa, like Mr. Okuno, became one of the leaders in the church. He was born in 1831 and belonged to the military class. Becoming Dr. Thompson's teacher and so a helper in the translation of the Bible, he was greatly moved by its truths and was thus led to a belief in Christ.

Earlier in the year (February) another earnest young man had been ordained as pastor of the Naniwa Church, which at the same time was organised in the city of

* *Church Missionary Intelligencer,* December, 1873.

Osaka. Rev. Paul Sawayama was born in 1851 in the province of Suwo. During the Revolution he fought against the Shogun's army, and soon after the restoration of peace came to Kobe, where he studied English with Rev. D. C. Greene. In 1872 he went to America, finding a home in the family of Mr. Greene's brother, who lived in Evanston, Ill. While there, he united with the First Congregational Church of that city, and decided that he would devote his life to preaching the Gospel. On returning to Japan in 1876, he was offered a government position at a salary of one hundred and fifty *yen* a month, which was a very large sum at that time; but he chose instead to become pastor of the little flock in Osaka, which could pay him only the paltry sum of seven *yen*. He was a man of deep faith, an earnest preacher, and one that exerted a great influence over all that met him. He and Mr. Neesima were the Japanese who did most to lay the foundations of what afterwards became the Kum-ai body of churches (Congregational). Though feeble health often kept him from the pulpit, yet in the sickroom or the ward of the hospital he was a great spiritual power. Other Christian workers went to him for advice and help to such an extent that he was often called "a pastor of pastors." He was an earnest advocate of self-support for the native churches. His own church was noted for its readiness to contribute not only for its own expenses, but for carrying the Gospel to others. He died in 1887 but his memory is still a power for good among all who knew him. His biography under the title, "A Modern Paul in Japan" was written by Mr. Naruse Jinzo.

In connection with the union of the Presbyterian churches, a committee was chosen to arrange a plan for theological education. As a result a school was established in Tokyo and put under the care of the Council of the Three Missions. This did away with the former practice by which each mission had sought to educate young men for its own ministry. In November, 1877, Rev. H. Maundrell of the Church Missionary Society began in Nagasaki a school to train candidates for the ministry, there being at first four students.

A difficulty that was often experienced is illustrated by the trouble that the Christians of Kyoto had in renting a building for their meetings, which had hitherto been held in private houses. Rev. J. D. Davis, writing in November, 1877, said:

"For three months they tried and failed. As soon as it was known that they were Christians, the way was blocked. Some three months ago they found a very desirable building for rent near the centre of the city, and the owner, and the mayor of the ward also, consented to rent it for Gospel preaching. In Japan, however, the neighbours must be consulted before a man can rent a house, and the neighbours in this case, hearing that it was to be rented for Christian preaching, refused their consent and sent word to the owner of the house in question, who lived in another ward, that he must not rent his house to a Christian. He replied that if the house belonged to them they could control it, but while it belonged to him he should rent it to whomsoever he pleased, and that if they did not like this they could buy the house. So they had a consultation and sent him word that they would buy it. Twenty days elapsed and they did not pay for it; and then they sent word to the owner that, since they heard that this Christian expected to rent a house in another place, they had decided not to purchase. The owner at once rented the house to one of the native Christians and he took possession, and preaching services were commenced. The neighbours were now greatly troubled and held meeting after meeting before they could decide what to do. Most of them wanted to eject the Christian, though some said they wanted to learn the New Way. The majority would not, however, vote to buy the house. Finally they fell back upon an old custom or law, which originated in the time of the persecution of the Jesuits here, that every man who rented a house must write in the lease to what sect of Buddhists he belonged. The Christian who rented this house had written in the lease that he was formerly a Buddhist but now a Christian. The neighbours said that unless this Christian could bring a paper from a priest of the sect of Buddhists to which he formerly belonged, saying that such was the case, he could not hold the lease. The Christian refused to pay any attention to this demand, and after their threatening the owner and the man who had rented it and also troubling the mayor of the ward for some time, the latter had a private interview with the Governor of the city to enquire what he had better do. The Governor advised him to order that the Christian simply write himself as a Christian and that one or two other men become responsible that if he should die they would see that the neighbours were not troubled about his burial, since, as a Christian, he could not receive regular Buddhist burial."

In 1875 Dr. J. C. Berry had obtained through the American Minister permission to visit prisons in different parts of Japan. The results of his inspection were embodied in a report that he made in 1876 to the Japanese Government, adding many suggestions about needed improvements. The Government had the report printed and distributed among the prison officials, a fact the more noticeable since it included the testimony of many European and American penologists upon the value of Christian teaching as a reformatory agent. The Governor of Kobe appointed a member of the church in that city as a teacher in the prison to give instruction in reading, arithmetic, and morals. Though not appointed as a chaplain he found many opportunities to exert a Christian influence. Early in 1877 this man received a document from eight of the prisoners. The cover was of ordinary paper; but in the centre was a wreath of flowers painted in colours, in the centre of this wreath was a cross, and on the cross were four Chinese ideographs that signified "The Company of the New Covenant." Within the covers was written an agreement saying that the persons whose names were signed at its close entered into a solemn covenant with each other and with God to cease from all violations of the law of God and of the land, and to follow Jesus as their Saviour. At the end each man wrote his name, and then as they had no seals, they did what is recognised as lawful under such circumstances, dipped the ends of their thumbs in ink and impressed them on the paper. The man that taught these prisoners was afterwards made the superintendent of the prison.

Early in 1877 Mr. Neesima sent some Christian books to the prison at Otsu, about eight miles from Kyoto. Among them was Dr. Martin's "Evidences of Christianity" in Chinese, the book to whose influence reference has several times before been made. This so interested one of the prisoners that he began to translate it into Japanese for the benefit of his illiterate associates, whom he began to instruct. Mr. Neesima wrote an account of what followed:

"Most of the prisoners are uneducated, and petty thieves. A lamp was allowed for evening study. This was a great conces-

sion from the authorities, for the use of lamps had hitherto been forbidden. But one lamp proved insufficient for the large number of prison students. I believe they were eighty in number. Subsequently one more was granted, then another, then another, till finally the room was fully lighted. He who taught his associates also began to preach to them every day. One day fire broke out in the prison, but there was no least confusion. He kept them in complete order. Under his direction each one work nobly and soon the fire was extinguished. Afterwards the prisoners were inspected, and none of them had escaped. It was a wonderful thing. The authorities of the city were informed of the behaviour of the prisoners and the reason for it, and their leader was released on account of his good conduct, although he had one year yet to serve. After his release he called on us and told us his story. He had killed a man ten years ago in a quarrel. He has since started a private school in Otsu, and Mr. Davis, myself, and some of the students have preached there ever since." *

Departing from the chronological order of events, we may here insert one or two other incidents connected with work for prisoners. The first relates to a young man who failed in an attempt to inaugurate such work. He was a student in the Doshisha School. While there, his conscience troubled him because a few years before, when a boy in Tokyo, he had stolen some shoes from a hotel. He finally decided to confess his crime and take the consequences. Supposing that he would have to spend considerable time in prison, he began to think where he could do the most good. As no Christian work had yet been done in the province of Satsuma, he decided to seek imprisonment there in order that he might preach Christ to those that were confined with him. He left school without telling any one of his plans, and went to Satsuma. From there he wrote letters to two leading newspapers in Tokyo telling of the theft committed years before, of his remorse of conscience since he had been taught by Christians, and his desire to make all the restitution in his power. He then gave himself up to the officers of justice for punishment. He was detained a few days and then, much to his surprise, was released, the authorities scarcely knowing what to make of such a

* Hardy's "Life of Neesima," p. 214.

conscience. Thus his plan for Christian work in a prison ended in failure.*

The prisoners at this time furnished a more hopeful field of labour because they contained, especially after the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, a number of political prisoners, who were intellectually and morally of a higher grade than most criminals. The labour of the convicts was often let out to farmers and manufacturers. In Kobe a Christian had established a small factory and he employed some of these political prisoners to run the machines. He began to speak to them about Christianity, had some one read the Bible or other books while they were working, and once a week invited some preacher to address them. The official that accompanied these prisoners made no objection, and some of the men became very much interested in what they heard. After a time, business grew so dull that the employer could no longer afford to keep his machines going; but the prisoners were so desirous of continuing the arrangement that one or two of them, who were men of property, furnished funds to enable him to continue hiring them and their companions through the dull season. Several of them were baptised after their sentences had expired, and on returning to their own province opened the way there for Christian preaching.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church of America, which formerly had done most of its foreign work through the American Board, to which it contributed both money and men,† now began a mission of its own in Japan. Rev. and Mrs. J. B. Hail, its first representa-

* *Shichi Ichi Zappo,* May 31, 1878; *Mis. Herald,* 1879, p. 471.

† It may be noticed as an interesting fact that at about this time the Japan Mission of the American Board included persons belonging to six different denominations. Though most of them were Congregationalists, the following denominations had one or more representatives; Presbyterians, Cumberland Presbyterians, Reformed, Baptist, and Methodist. It is sometimes asserted that the missionaries have tried to force upon the Japanese their own sectarian views and methods. Evidently this could not well be the case in a mission made up like that of the American Board, neither is it true of most other missions.

tives, reached the country in February, 1877, and Osaka was selected as their residence. To the same city in April came Miss M. J. Oxlad, the first representative of the English Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. The Evangelical Association of North America had sent its first missionaries (Rev. F. Krecker, M.D., Mrs. Krecker, Rev. A. Halmhuber, and Miss R. J. Hudson) to Japan the preceding year. They at first resided in Yokohama.

The year 1878 was marked by a number of conventions that in various ways showed the progress that was being made. The earliest of these was a meeting of delegates sent by the nine churches that had grown up in connection with the work of the American Board. It was held in Osaka January 2 and 3. Its purpose was to promote fellowship among the churches and to devise plans for uniting their forces for spreading the Gospel. Besides the delegates, many Christians living in the vicinity were in attendance. Mr. Neesima was the chairman. The most important business accomplished was the establishment of the Japanese Missionary Society, the churches promising to make monthly contributions for its support. The management of this society was wholly in the hands of the Japanese, and at first it did not receive any financial aid from the mission. The next summer it sent several theological students from the Doshisha to places where there were promising openings, and in these they laid the foundations of what have since become large churches.

In May the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the American Episcopal Mission met in Tokyo for a conference. Two bishops and fifteen other clergymen were in attendance. They decided that the Japanese churches formed in connection with their work should use the same Book of Common Prayer. For this the translations already made of the Litany and of the services of Morning and Evening Prayer were adopted, and a committee was chosen for the translation of other portions.

May 10-13 a convention of missionaries was held in Tokyo. As this was a delegate convention, it is not reckoned as one of the "General Conferences." Besides forty-one missionaries representing ten missions, each of the three Bible societies (British and Foreign, Scotch, and American) working in Japan sent a delegate, and there were three honorary members. The chief business related to the translation of the Old Testament. It was decided that each mission should be requested to appoint one of its members to serve upon a permanent committee that should have authority to select committees for translation and general revision.

The first *Dai Shimboku-kwai,* or General Fellowship Meeting, for all the Protestant Christians of Japan was held in Tokyo, July 15-18. Twelve cities were represented by twenty-seven delegates; and it is said that from five hundred to six hundred people were present at some of the meetings. Mr. Tsuda Sen was chosen Chairman. There were reports from the churches and addresses upon such subjects as "The Spirit of Christian Fellowship," "Christians should be Independent," "The Church and the Nation," "Christianity and Literature," "Christianity and Social Reform," "Christianity and Liberty," etc. Much enthusiasm was manifested and it was a great advantage to have the Christians of different churches thus brought together. It was decided to have such meetings annually. The next year, however, the prevalence of cholera in the city of Osaka, which had been chosen for the place of meeting, led to a postponement until 1880. These Fellowship Meetings, either under the original name or as meetings of the Japanese Evangelical Alliance, have been held at irregular intervals until the present time.

The Presbytery of the United Churches, held in October, elected, besides the Home Evangelisation Committee, a Foreign Evangelisation Committee of six members. The plan was to begin evangelistic work in Korea. The Committee, having obtained a man that desired to labour in that country, had him enter upon a course of theological study; but the candidate was

obliged on account of illness to leave the seminary and the whole enterprise was dropped for the time being.

In January, 1878, the two Congregational (or *Kumi-ai*, as they were afterwards called), churches in Osaka, each having about twenty-five members, opened the school for girls to which was given the name Baikwa Jogakko (Plum-blossom Girls' School). Rev. H. Leavitt, a missionary of the American Board, was an earnest advocate of self-support, believing that the Christians should not depend on foreign funds for the expenses of churches, schools, publishing houses, or other Christian institutions. It was chiefly owing to his zeal, seconded by that of Rev. Paul Sawayama, that the enthusiasm, faith, and courage of the Christians were aroused for this undertaking which at first seemed far beyond their strength. Though individual missionaries showed their sympathy by personal contributions, no money was asked from the missionary board. Mr. Leavitt wrote: "The running expenses of the school—including rent of building, fuel, teacher, etc., etc.,—are paid entirely by the tuition of the scholars and the contributions of the church members." The American Board Mission allowed one of its lady missionaries to teach in the school, but gave it no pecuniary aid. At first there were fifteen pupils, a number that increased rapidly from month to month. It may be added that for about fifteen years the school continued upon this self-supporting basis; and then, in view of the financial straits into which the school was brought by the dishonesty of the man in whose name the real estate was held, the American Board made it one or two grants.

A number of new churches were organised in 1878, several of them being outside of the open ports. One of these was in Annaka, Mr. Neesima's old home, where it will be remembered that he spoke to the people about Christianity at the time of his return from America. Mr. Ebina, a student of the Doshisha Theological School, had spent his vacations there as an evangelist. In March, 1878, a church was organised. Mr. Neesima thus wrote of the exercises:

"When I arrived there, I found them well prepared to be baptised. I held a meeting on the evening of my arrival, preached to a large audience the next day, and held an enquiry meeting in the evening. This was repeated the following day, and on the fourth day I baptised thirty persons and organised a church. It was the most solemn and yet most joyful event I ever witnessed. The people have thus far paid all expenses and have never received any aid from without. They take pride in doing so, and have already raised a fund for the support of their church. There is a rich merchant among them, the most influential man in the place, although quite young. He keeps the pastor in his home and does everything for his comfort. He also supports a free reading-room where daily, weekly, and monthly papers, secular and religious, are kept."

In the province of Shimosa, Mr. Soper of the American Methodist Mission, baptised thirty adults, who were organised into a church. In connection with the work of the same mission, six converts were baptised in the important city of Nagoya and placed under the care of a native catechist.

Rev. D. Macdonald, M.D., of the Canadian Methodist Mission, had been employed for four years as a teacher in Shizuoka. He also practised medicine, and in his own house taught Christianity. Up to the time of his departure, one hundred and eighteen persons had been baptised. Rev. G. M. Meacham of the same mission, had lived for two years in Numazu. Forty-one persons, most of them students in the school where he taught, were baptised.

In Kyoto there was a wave of reaction. Some one wrote:

"Whereas there were upwards of forty places occupied each week by students as centres for presenting truth, with audiences always inspiring in number, now scarcely eight can be occupied with any encouraging number of hearers. In many places the houses are closed to the preachers." *

There was also difficulty in getting permission for employing foreign teachers in the Doshisha Schools. Two ladies had come to teach in the Girls' Department, which had been recently established; but when the local Gov-

* *Mis. Herald*, 1878, p. 223.

ernor, who had become hostile, forwarded the request to the Central Government, he added a suggestion that it should not be granted, since the schools were used to promote Christianity. There was further trouble at a later date when it was necessary to have Dr. Learned's passport renewed. One objection suggested by the Governor was that, though Mr. Neesima nominally employed the foreign teachers, the school was really a foreign institution sustained by an annual grant from a missionary society. In February of the next year Mr. Neesima went to Tokyo where, since the passports must be obtained through the Foreign Department, he explained to Mr. Mori, the Vice-Minister, how the school was started and how it was sustained. After hearing his statement, Mr. Mori said: "You have a right to exist and also to employ foreign teachers, if you use your own funds instead of those coming from a foreign society. The Foreign Office objects to your depending upon the American Board." Mr. Neesima says:

"I told him that this annual aid was a free gift and that we made a good use of it. Is it forbidden us to receive any aid from a foreign nation? If so, the law ought to prohibit us from aiding other nations. Did not our people send an immense quantity of rice last year to a famishing district in China, and can we not also receive some aid for our moral and intellectual famine? This argument was just enough to bring him around to our side, and through his kindness I obtained the extension of Dr. Learned's passport for five years."

In the spring of 1878 Rev. F. B. Plummer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, made a visit to the Bonin Islands, which are five hundred and fifty miles southeast of Yokohama. At this time the islands had a population of about a thousand persons, among them being English, French, Americans, Spanish, South Sea Islanders, Negroes, and cross-breeds. Webb, who was a leader among the foreign settlers, had been in the habit of baptising the children of all but one of the families. These islands, which belong to Japan, have since that time been frequently visited by missionaries.

A school for teaching the blind was opened that year

at Tokyo in the hospital conducted by Dr. Faulds, who also about the same time caused some portions of the Scriptures and other Christian literature to be printed in raised type.* Three years before this he had been in conference with several Japanese Christians who united with him in forming a philanthropic society, one of whose objects was the education of the blind. An official who was induced to join the society "strongly objected to its dependence on a foreign church for its support," and as his views were accepted, the society lost its distinctively Christian character, but gained contributions from the Emperor and others. The school for the blind and for deaf mutes established by this society was not opened until February, 1880, more than a year after that of Dr. Faulds, who continued to help the Japanese society in developing and carrying out its plans.

On certain Shinto festivals, sacred cars are carried through the streets upon the shoulders of men, who may number several scores. Often the car will suddenly stop, and though the men pretend to be trying to make it go forward, they will all be carried backward or swayed from side to side, the idea being that for some reason or other the god, whose spirit is supposed to be in the car, does not wish to go in the direction that is being taken. Sometimes the car strikes against a house whose inmates have in some way displeased the deity. In August, 1878, as the car belonging to the tutelary shrine of Yotsuya, Tokyo, was being carried in front of the Christian church that had been built in that district, the spirit of the deity became so turbulent that finally the car was hurled against the building with such violence as to do considerable damage. Soon after this, the persons in charge of the proceedings were called before the police, and as a result were led to write a document acknowledging that they had not exerted sufficient care, asking forgiveness for the offence, and promising that there should be no trouble next year. They also sent eighteen persons to offer apologies to the Christians. When a somewhat similar affair oc-

**Shichi Ichi Zappo,* November 29, 1876; Ritter, p. 79.

curred in Kobe, the Shinto priests were warned that a recurrence would lead the authorities to prohibit the taking out of the car in future years.*

Intercourse with Western lands brought to the Japanese not only a knowledge of Christianity, but also of modern materialism and scepticism. The letters of missionaries show that they quickly recognised the danger. Thus Rev. J. T. Gulick wrote:

"It becomes more and more evident that the strongest opponent to Christianity in Japan will not be Buddhism but materialism; not the religions and superstitions of old Japan but the scepticism of modern Europe. The faith of the people in their old religions is giving way gradually, and though the strong fraternities of priests and a large conservative element among the common people will be for a time resolutely arrayed against any change of religious opinions, their utmost endeavours cannot stay the tide. Though we should fail to do our part in urging the claims of Christianity, the old systems would not fail to crumble before the advance of modern ideas. But we must not deceive ourselves with the thought that in the absorption of new ideas Christianity will be as readily received as other things; for it becomes every day more apparent that the natural heart of progressive Japan is the eager disciple of rationalistic and materialistic Europe."

The scorn with which many looked on religion finds expression in the following extract from one of the leading newspapers, the *Hochi Shimbun,* of October 19, 1878:

"The Christian religion seems to be extending by degrees throughout our country. . . . We have no wish to obey it, nor have we any fear of being troubled by it. As we can enjoy sufficient happiness without any religion whatever, the question as to the merits or demerits of the different forms never enters our head. Indeed, we are of those who, not knowing the existence of religions in the universe, are enjoying perfect happiness. We have no intention of either supporting or attacking the Christian religion. In fact, religion is nothing to us." †

While many of the wise and noble thus despised Christianity, it was having its influence on publicans and sin-

* *Shichi Ichi Zappo,* August 30, 1878.

† Quoted in Miss Bird's "Unbeaten Tracks in Japan," vol. ii., p. 312.

ners. Rev. O. H. Gulick, writing of a visit to Hikone, said:

"Two men widely known in that section of country as keepers of gambling saloons and houses of ill-fame, have within a few months become ashamed of their vile trade. Gathering the inmates of their establishments together, they announced their purpose to abandon the wicked business and follow the teachings of Christ. The women and girls, whom they had purchased from their parents and subjected to a life of degradation, they promised to set free without the return of money if they could find homes as wives or if they would return to their parents, giving pledges that they would abandon their lives of shame. We were told that all but one of the victims of their trade had in these ways been provided with homes, the business had been entirely closed, and those who were the organisers of this iniquity had become regular and attentive hearers of the word of life." *

This was but one of many cases in which men were led to give up trades not consistent with Christian teaching, though to do so involved considerable loss.

In a small town in the province of Tango on the shores of the Japan Sea lived a woman whose story is here condensed from an account written by Rev. J. H. DeForest. She belonged to a family of some local importance, one of whose members had died in the year 1854. By the old calendar, which divided the years among cycles named after various animals, that was the year of the tiger, and when the next year of the same designation came around, the head of the family died. Superstitious as the Japanese are, the family and friends could not fail to be deeply impressed with the coincidence; and the two tombstones, both inscribed with the tiger year, made them regard it as one fatal to the household. In 1878 the dreaded season came again. At New Year's the family talked together of the terror that they could not but feel. "Whose turn will it be to die this year?" was the question they asked one another. Finally the widow of the man who had last died offered to take upon herself the wrath of the deities in order that the younger members of the household might be spared. To prepare herself for death she

* *Mis. Herald*, 1879, p. 64.

decided to make a pilgrimage to the great shrine at Ise, visiting other noted temples on the way. She set out attended by a single servant. On reaching Osaka she went to the house of her brother-in-law. This man and his wife had recently become Christians, and that night this widow for the first time heard about their religion. She tarried over another night that she might hear more of what they had to say. That they had torn down their idol-shelves, that they dared openly to profess a faith that she had been taught to dread, and that they seemed to be so full of joy in their new religion, led the old lady to say on the third day: "The weather is raw, the roads are bad. If the servant wants to continue on his pilgrimage to Ise, all right; I will stay here till his return and learn more about this religion."

She heard for a week, and gave a dollar to the church; two weeks, and she bought several dozen copies of the Scriptures and other books to take back home as presents; another week, and besides another dollar to the church, she gave one to the girls' school; still another week, and it was arranged that, since she felt hardly able to face the questions that would meet her at home, the relatives with whom she was staying should return with her. They did so, and though they were called before the police, they were allowed to continue telling the people of the town about Christianity. It was also arranged that one of the students of the Doshisha should spend his summer vacation there at the old lady's expense. Until the end of her life, about twenty years later, she was well known in the churches as the Tango Obaa San, or Old Lady of Tango. She built a church in her village and paid a large proportion of the expenses of the evangelists that laboured there.*

Rev. C. T. Blanchet of the American Episcopal Missions, wrote in 1879: "The people are actually getting ready for Christianity faster than we can carry it to them." From towns far in the interior the missionaries of different societies were receiving invitations to come and preach the Gospel. Those that had the language

* *Mis. Herald*, 1878, p. 292; *Shichi Ichi Zappo*, April 12 and May 31, 1878.

found it easy to get large audiences. There were several places where the permanent residence of the missionary was desired; though this was possible only when he was employed by Japanese as a teacher of English, or in some other capacity. It was in this way that Rev. T. C. Winn went to Kanazawa as teacher in a government school. The principal offered him the position of English teacher with the understanding that he should be allowed to preach and to teach Christianity in the city. Mrs. Winn and Mrs. True, who accompanied him, were able to carry on work among the women; and as a result of these efforts a church was organised a year and a half later. Similarly, with a full understanding by the prefectural Governor and all other persons concerned that they came as Christian missionaries, J. C. Berry, M.D., and Revs. J. H. Pettee and O. Cary, were employed in Okayama, the first in a government hospital and the two others in a private school. They were accompanied by their families and Miss Wilson, all being of the American Board Mission. The Governor even went so far as to let them have free from rent, for temporary residence, a house that belonged to himself. This was also used for preaching services and a Sunday school. As it was well known to belong to him and as some of his family attended the services, much of the prejudice that would naturally be felt against the teachers of a foreign religion was allayed. The favours thus shown did indeed subject him to some criticism. The next year a comic paper published in Tokyo contained a picture that represented the Governor of Okayama as an acrobat balancing on his forehead a cross upon which was a pole labelled "Popular Favour." Underneath was the inscription: "The Governor of Okayama hopes to gain favour by becoming a Christian." Other papers asserted that he worshipped every day before a cross.

In other cities the labours of Japanese evangelists or the tours of missionaries were accompanied by encouraging results. The first class of young men, fifteen in number, was graduated from the Doshisha Theological School, and they at once became teachers or evangelists.

From the cities where they laboured in the latter capacity, there soon came news of many persons who had become followers of Christ. In March, Rev. H. Maundrell of the Church Missionary Society, in response to an earnest invitation from Kagoshima, sent to that city one of the theological students under his training, who at once hired a room where he held services every evening and instructed those who, having before learned about Christianity, had asked for baptism. A visit was made a little later by Mr. Maundrell himself, and when he returned to Nagasaki in May, he left at Kagoshima a church with fourteen adults and seven children. There were also several others that had given in their names as desirous of becoming Christians.

Other missions reported many baptisms, and the statistics for the year 1879 showed an increase of about sixty per cent. in the number of Protestant church-members. With so much to encourage them and with so many promising openings, the missions called loudly for re-enforcements, and also felt deeply the need for raising up, as soon as possible, a thoroughly equipped native ministry.

Opposition, however, was not at an end. In Kyoto the local government instructed the ward officers to advise the people not to go to the houses of missionaries or to places where Christianity was preached, giving as a reason that the people already had a sufficient number of religions and those that were good enough.* Two of the Japanese teachers in the Imperial High School in Osaka had been prominent workers in the churches. They were now forbidden to preach or teach Christianity, danger of overwork outside of school being the excuse for the order.†

This was one of several indications that the Department of Education was then, as for many years afterwards, opposed to Christianity.

Another form of opposition was in some respects harder to bear, since it came from those who had been

* *Mis. Herald*, 1880, p. 64.
† *Ib.*, 1879, p. 347.

born in Christian lands. Some of the foreign professors in the Imperial University at Tokyo, not only ridiculed Christianity in their classrooms, but also held meetings in a public hall, where they attacked Christianity and even theism.*

In the summer of 1879 the peasants in a place near Niigata attacked Dr. Palm and demolished his preaching-place. This occurred in a riot, the people having gained the idea that the cholera, which was then raging, was in some way due to the Christians.

Missions were commenced in 1879 by the English Baptists and by the Reformed Church (German) in the United States. The next year the Methodist Protestant Church of America entered the field.

April 19, 1880, a meeting was held in one of the churches of Tokyo to celebrate the completion of the translation of the New Testament as made by the Committee chosen in 1872. A large audience of Japanese Christians, together with representatives of fourteen American and English missionary societies, filled the

* There are many Europeans and Americans who do their best to make the Japanese think that Christianity has been outgrown by Western nations. An enthusiastic eulogy of the well-known writer, Lafcadio Hearn, that appeared in *The Sun Trade Journal* (Tokyo) of June 1, 1905, says that when he was teaching English in Kumamoto (about 1890), one of his pupils referred in an essay to the civilisation of Christendom. Mr. Hearn, in a written criticism of the paragraph, said: "It is very doubtful whether the civilisation of a people has any connection whatever with their religion. In Christian countries, moreover, the most learned men do not believe in Christianity, and the Christian religion is divided into countless sects which detest each other. No European scientist of note—no philosopher of high rank—no really great man is a Christian in belief." If in after years this pupil read Mr. Hearn's "Japan, an Interpretation," he must have been surprised to find that its opening chapter was chiefly devoted to the thought that the social conditions, industrial history, art, literature, etc. of a country cannot be understood without a knowledge of its religion. The article goes on to say that Mr. Hearn's hatred of Christianity was so great that when in his walks he came upon a church, he would not pass before it, but would turn about and go another way. Such conduct and words on the part of a popular teacher could not fail to prejudice his pupils strongly against Christianity.

church. Dr. N. Brown of the American Baptist Mission, who a few months before had completed an independent translation of the New Testament, read the nineteenth Psalm in English, and Rev. J. Piper of the English Church Missionary Society offered prayer. The leading address was in English by Dr. Hepburn, who gave a historical sketch of former attempts to translate the Scriptures into Japanese, and of the way the present version was prepared. The chief work had been done by Drs. S. R. Brown, Greene, Hepburn, and Maclay; the Japanese brethren who assisted them and to whom much of the excellence of the version is due, being Messrs. Matsuyama Takayoshi, Okuno Masatsuna, Takahashi Goro, Ibuka Kajinosuke, and Miwa ——. Of the first of these it was said:

"He was with the Committee from the first, and throughout its whole work. He was our chief dependence, assistant, and arbiter in all cases of difficulty. Whatever virtue there is in our Japanese text is mainly, if not altogether, owing to his scholarly ability, the perfect knowledge he has of his own language, his conscientious care, and his identifying himself with the work."

Mr. Okuno, who was with the Committee a little more than two years, "had more to do in assisting in the first work of translation than perhaps any other."

The year that saw the completion of the translation saw also a great increase in the sale of the Scriptures. Rev. J. Goble, who was employed by the American Bible Society as a colporteur, had a small handcart made, which he stocked with books and so sold them through the streets of Tokyo and in different parts of the country. In the first month he sold about 5,500 portions of the Bible. Not only did he himself effect these large sales, but he proved to the Japanese that the people were ready to buy if approached in the right way, and many of the colporteurs, who hitherto had been too dignified to push their business, learned from him how to do successful work.

It will be remembered that in 1878 a convention of the Japanese Christians had been held in Tokyo. Plans were then made for having a similar meeting the next

year in Osaka, but at the appointed time that city was suffering from an epidemic of cholera and so the convention was postponed until July, 1880. Though the expense of travel prevented the attendance of large numbers, the meeting was thought to be very profitable. Besides devotional meetings and addresses upon various themes, a half day was spent in making arrangements for presenting to the Government a petition asking that the Christian dead might be buried with Christian rites without let or hindrance from the Buddhist priests. Nothing, however, was gained at this time in furtherance of such liberty.

October 13 and 14 a remarkable meeting was held in the Public Park at Ueno, Tokyo. A restaurant with its grounds was rented and services held from nine o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon. There were prayers, the singing of Christian hymns, and addresses by both Japanese and foreigners. Dr. Verbeck thus described the exercises:

"In the forenoon, moderately sized audiences were addressed in the rooms of the restaurant; but towards noon the rooms, though pretty large, were found insufficient to hold the crowd of visitors then on the ground. The wide front veranda of the ground floor was now converted into a platform, the pretty gardens furnishing abundant room for the growing audience. The whole of this made up an impressive scene. In full view in front were the miniature lake of Shinobazu and the northern suburbs of the city; on a little island in the lake stood the temple dedicated to the goddess Benten; within hailing distance towards the left might be seen the temple of the thousand-handed goddess of mercy; within a stone's throw to the rear sat a bronze image of Buddha, twenty feet high; and in the midst of all these a large and orderly crowd stood attentively listening to the proclamation of the Gospel by a number of zealous preachers. While the principal work was done on the novel platform just described, a few preachers held overflow meetings under the summer-houses standing in different parts of the gardens. It is calculated that several thousand people, as they came and went, heard the preaching of the Gospel, many of them for the first time, on that day. It was gratifying to notice among the crowded audience the attendance of several representatives of the higher and official classes resident in the capital and the presence of Buddhist priests; the respectful bearing of all present, too, was a pleasant feature of the day's performance. The next day's local papers (Japanese) also, in their reports of the meeting, generally spoke

of it with respect and approval. The promoters of this new enterprise had every reason to be satisfied with the result. For months afterwards one could hear, in Japanese churches, allusions made to the happy event, and thanks given to God for the blessings vouchsafed on this memorable day." *

When we remember that only eight or nine years before it was dangerous to attend a Christian meeting in a private house, we see how great was the change that had taken place.

The liberal views of the Central Government were shown about this time by the orders it sent to one of the local governors. Some Japanese evangelists of the Greek Church had visited the province of Tamba, when the police, under orders from the Governor of Kyoto, to whose jurisdiction the district belonged, forbade their preaching. As they would not desist, the Governor reported the matter to Tokyo, only to receive commands to let the preachers alone. The same Governor had in many other ways shown his hatred of Christianity. It was on account of his opposition that there had been trouble in getting passports for the American teachers in the Doshisha, and he had issued orders that made booksellers afraid to deal in Christian books. It was a great relief to those interested in missionary work when he was soon after removed.

Two Japanese pastors obtained permission in September to speak every Sunday in the Hyogo prison. The document granting this gave "Moral Science" as the subject of their addresses; but it was well understood that they were at liberty to speak on religious themes.

The first Young Men's Christian Association among the Japanese was probably that organised this year in Tokyo. Rev. Messrs. Kozaki, Ibuka, Hiraiwa, and Uemura were prominent in the early days of the society. Meetings of its members were held for religious and philosophical discussions, a small library was formed, and there were occasional evangelistic services. It formed the foundation of the present Association in

* Report of Osaka Conference, p. 118.

Tokyo. In October there was published under its auspices the *Rikugo Zasshi* (The Cosmos), a magazine that soon gained considerable circulation and influence. In this connection it may be noted that about the same time there was started in Kyoto a periodical entitled *Ryokyo Zasshi* (The Magazine of the Two Religions), which announced as its object the protection of Buddhism and Shintoism from the alarming advances being made by Christianity.

A letter written in July, 1881, by Rev. C. T. Blanchet of the American Episcopal Mission, mentions four indications of the rapid extension of Christianity;—1. The establishment, with the Government's approval, of a number of Christian papers. 2. The greater demand for Christian literature, and the rapidly increasing supply. 3. The renewed energy put forth by the Buddhists in trying to bolster up their system, which was daily losing its hold upon the people. 4. The tacit allowance by the Government of preaching the Gospel and of selling the Scriptures in the interior as well as in the open ports, irrespective of the protests of the Buddhists against the same.*

The circulation of the Scriptures had largely increased. The sales of Bibles and "portions" by the three societies—the American Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the National Society of Scotland—amounted to 115,000 copies, for which 16,000 *yen* were received. It was the general rule of these societies to sell and not give away the Scriptures, the retail price being but little, if any, below the actual cost of production. Most of the missions and other societies that published Christian books put the price at such a sum as covered all the expenses of publication and distribution.

About this time Rev. Mr. Okuno, at the request of the superintendent of a large prison near Tokyo, commenced to preach every week to the criminals. His audiences usually numbered from eight hundred to a thousand. These services were kept up for about two

*Report of Osaka Conference, p. 126.

years, when the opposition of Buddhist priests caused their discontinuance.

The missionary correspondence of 1881 and succeeding years contained accounts of the mass meetings that were frequently held in theatres. The ordinary theatre of Japan is a large, barn-like structure, open to the roof, the wood-work unpainted, and without ornamentation except that of the furnishings of the stage. The floor is divided by low railings into what resemble small cattle-pens. A family or a company of friends can engage one of these for its exclusive use. The spectators often bring their lunches with them or they can procure tea and refreshments from the neighbouring restaurants; and thus they combine the pleasures of a picnic with that of witnessing the play. There are usually one or two galleries. It was discovered that these buildings made good places for preaching. One of the first of these meetings of which a description is given was held in Kyoto. Rev. W. W. Curtis thus wrote of it:

"The hour for commencing was one P. M. We found the theatre, said to seat four thousand, comfortably filled with an expectant audience. There were probably in the neighbourhood of three thousand present. In the audience nearly every variety of fashion was illustrated, from that of the bare-legged coolie with nothing on but a loin-cloth and a loose open robe girded at the waist, to the becoming full dress of the *samurai,* and the less comely attire of foreign coat and pants. I could see but two or three men in all that assembly who wore the cue. One of the galleries was set apart for the ladies, scarcely any of whom were seen among the men below. In a box opposite the stage several officials were seated, who proved attentive listeners. It is estimated that as many as two hundred priests were in the audience. On the carpeted platform stood a little stand with a Bible and a glass of water on it. The name and subject of each speaker in large characters were posted up before he came upon the stage. Several minutes were given between the speeches to allow the audience to exchange a few words and take a smoke. To the right of the platform was the chairman with a call-bell on the table before him, with which he notified the speakers when their time was up. Near by was a cabinet organ, and seated around this some twenty or more students from our Training School. The audience applauded the speeches in the way which is now quite fashionable in Japan, by clapping their hands."

A Buddhist magazine published in Kyoto thus referred to this meeting:

"The place was crowded with hearers day and night, more than three thousand being present. The preachers were both converted Japanese and foreigners. The sermons were well prepared and able. Those on 'Faith' and 'Cause and Effect' were emotional and calculated to excite the uneducated. The preachers were eloquent. 'Love God and Your Neighbour' was very peculiar. As regards love, our Buddhists have something to be ashamed of. Among different kinds of love, that for your own party and friends is one of the greatest, and this leads to mutual help and so progress is rapid. It seems to me, however, that we are destitute of this love, and instead of it have internal dissensions. Is not this blameworthy?"*

Though the meeting passed off without a display of opposition, Mr. Miyagawa, who was the chairman and one of the speakers, received an anonymous letter that denounced him as a very wicked man, a stirrer-up of strife, and threatened that he would not reach his home that night alive. In Japan at that time threats of assassination were not to be lightly regarded; but Mr. Miyagawa simply said: "I am ready, if need be, to be a martyr." No violence, however, was offered.

Similar meetings were held in other cities. In Osaka the Shinto and Buddhist priests were so annoyed that they brought legal action against the Governor for allowing such a meeting. The judges rendered the following decision:

"The plaintiffs in this action complain that the Governor has improperly administered the laws by permitting the Christians to hold a great meeting in Osaka. They allege that the Governor should have issued a notification forbidding foreigners to erect a church or preach a religion not sanctioned by Government, outside the limits of the Foreign Settlement, and also prohibiting all persons unauthorised by Government from preaching on religious subjects. The court is of opinion that the plaintiffs have no ground for their contention although there is nothing to prevent their presenting a petition to the Governor on this subject. . . . The case is therefore dismissed."†

* Quoted in *Mis. Herald*, p. 360.
† *Mis. Herald*, 1882, p. 152.

The activity of the Christians led, in a few cases, to threats against the propagators of the new faith. Two theological students, who spent the summer vacation in Fukui, received from a Shintoist the following letter:

"You, in seeking the trifling gain that is offered you, preach the baneful doctrines of Christianity. What sin is greater? If you will repent, do it speedily, and we will be quiet; but if you continue preaching, we have weapons to destroy what is harmful to the country. The sacred sword to use for the holy Empire is at our side. Your impure blood, young children, is unworthy to be shed; but we will try the sword for the first time on your young necks.

"Village of Kawakita, God of Mountains: From Nobuakira, the Keeper of the Holy Empire.

"To the preachers of Barbarian Doctrines."

More legitimate methods of opposition were not neglected. The Buddhist priests published a series of tracts on "The Unreasonableness of Christianity." One of these urged that the existence of noxious beasts disproved the doctrine of a wise and loving Creator. Another adduced the Crusades to show that Christianity gives rise to wars. Mass meetings like those inaugurated by the Christians were held. Some of the speakers endeavoured to frighten the ignorant people by asserting that at the beginning of the next year the Government would put all Christians to death. Herod and Pilate became friends; the Buddhists seeking the help of those that were opposed to all religions. Three pupils of Mr. Fukuzawa, who like their master, the famous teacher and reformer, avowed that they did not believe in any religion, were employed to address meetings in Osaka and Kyoto. One of them began his speech by saying:

"I am neither a Buddhist nor Shinto priest; neither have I any special leaning to either of these religions, the excellence of which I am not well acquainted with; but I am aware of the iniquities of the Christian sect, and my purpose is, from love of country and sincere heart, to discuss these. Of late the progress made by this sect has been marvellous, and may be compared to a fire sweeping over a plain, which constantly increases in power. Wherever one may go, their preaching places are to be found. The three Christian sects, Catholic, Greek, and Protestant, which entered Japan simultaneously, have already

produced much confusion, and bid fair to put an end to the old condition of things in my country. Therefore I propose, by the aid of ancient and modern history, to show whether Christianity is profitable or injurious, to startle these immoral believers of the foreign religion in their infatuated dreams, and call the attention of the Government and people to the subject. Now this Christian sect is very different from other religions and contains two greatly to be dreaded qualities. These are, first, cruelty and rebellion; second, the seizure and robbery of other countries. Therefore they are prone to present their complaints with sword and spear, murder innocent pople, and seize their country and property; such instances are by no means rare."

The lecturer then went on to speak of the Crusades, of contests in Europe between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and of the troubles brought upon Japan by the preaching of Christianity three centuries before. He asserted that modern missionaries were sent by foreign governments for the sake of gaining a foothold in the country, and that their followers, in case of war between Japan and a Western nation, would secretly aid the latter. Lovers of their country should resist the progress of a religion that threatened such great evils.*

The lecturers were so much nettled at the remarks of the newspapers accusing them of speaking only for the sake of the money paid them by the Buddhists, that in one of the subsequent meetings they made some violent attacks upon the priests, who were not a little vexed to have their allies thus turn against them.†

Mr. Fukuzawa himself delivered a lecure in Tokyo about the same time, in which he spoke of religion as being necessary for controlling the hearts of the people. For himself, he had no special leaning toward either Buddhism or Shintoism, but he feared the influence of Christianity would be to make people regard foreign nations with too much favour. He went on to say:

"At present there is great emulation and strife among nations to be first, and those that are careless will soon fall behind in the race. The right and the wrong are not much thought of any more. If a nation sees an opportunity to enrich herself by seizing

* *The Chrysanthemum*, 1881, p. 395.
† *Mis. Herald*, 1881, p. 445.

another country, she does so without any misgiving. Christianity is making progress, but when Japanese become Christians, they will. . . consider everything Christian and that comes from Christian nations as very good, and will be disposed to take the side of foreign nations. Though Buddhism came from another land, yet it has for more than a thousand years held sway over the Japanese mind and is in fact a Japanese religion. If there were no religions in Japan at this time, then I might choose Christianity rather than Buddhism. But as Buddhism has for so long a time penetrated the life of the Japanese people, I am disposed to give all my assistance towards preventing Christianity from trespassing on the dominions of the former." *

In a volume of essays Mr. Fukuzawa went even farther in his opposition to Christianity. He declared that there was danger that men of ability, who embraced the faith, might ultimately form a party that would come into opposition with a party or parties holding Japanese doctrines. Eventually an appeal might be made to arms, and this would lead the Christians to invoke foreign assistance, through which Japan would be in danger of losing its independence. The "liberty of conscience" that had come into fashion was working evil. Buddhism ought to be recognised as the one and only religion of Japan. The followers of Shinto, which is not properly a religion, should unite with the Buddhists to endeavour to oppose the spread of Christianity. The authorities ought also to take steps towards the same end. They might feel some delicacy about interfering in such matters, but they should not be misled by the vague notions of the students of Western doctrines to value liberty of conscience above their public duties and so to refrain from measures which concern them no less than taxation or the conduct of justice.†

Such sentiments seem very strange as coming from one who had done more than almost any other man to introduce Western ideas among the people. Caring little for religion itself, Mr. Fukuzawa in questions connected with it seems to have been almost as much a follower as a leader of public opinion; and it was not

* *The Chrysanthemum*, 1881, p. 392.
† *Japan Weekly Mail*, January 21, 1882.

long, as we shall see, before he spoke in quite a different tone.

In Tokyo the Buddhists began holding a series of "lecture-meetings" in the Meiji Kwaido, a hall that was erected partly for political assemblies, but also with the avowed intention of furnishing a place where efforts might be made to oppose the spread of Christianity.

Some leaders of public thought, while professing indifference to religion itself, contended that all should be treated alike by the Government. The editor of a prominent paper in Tokyo, while declaring that he was opposed to Christianity, called on the Government to abandon its non-committal attitude and openly tolerate that religion. His reasons were: 1. Because it is a shame for the Government to retain laws against Christianity that are notoriously violated in all parts of the country. 2. Because religion ought to be free to each man to believe or reject as he pleases. 3. Because, while Christianity is bad, Buddhism is no better, and both ought either to be prohibited or to be tolerated.*

The next year (1882) religious discussion waxed hotter and hotter. The Christians pushed into various parts of the country, and nearly everywhere they were able to gather large audiences. To counteract the influence of these meetings, the Buddhists started others in opposition, often hiring a house close to the one engaged by the Christians and thus trying to draw people away from the latter.

The *Jiji Shimpo,* a daily newspaper, was started in 1882 by Mr. Fukuzawa. At first, nearly every number contained an attack on Christianity. Though professing no attachment to Buddhism as a religion, it declared its preservation necessary for the national welfare.† The following extracts from an editorial will show its position:

* *Mis. Herald,* 1882, p. 69.

† It was about this time that Mr. Fukuzawa bought a large image of Buddha and set it up in his garden. A friend, whose attention he was drawing to the image, drily remarked: "Yes, I hear that such images can be bought very cheaply now."

"The national religion of Japan is Buddhist. We must protect it from decay. The higher classes in Japan care nothing about any religion. . . . This total indifference to religious things in the Japanese mind is greatly to be praised. Foreigners cannot equal us in this respect. Nevertheless, at the present juncture this peculiar merit of the Japanese is a grave detriment to the country. That Christianity is baneful to our national power is evident. . . . But educated people care nothing about it and relegate the whole thing to the priests. This is a dangerous tendency of the time. Unless assisted by the influence of the upper classes, nothing can obstruct the intrusion of Christianity. Moreover, Buddhist priests are immoral and shameless, and without energy of spirit. It is very unsafe to trust this weighty cause to them alone. We do not believe in Buddhism, nor do we respect the priest. Our concern is for the national power, in the conservation of which that religion must be utilised."

This was doubtless written by Mr. Fukuzawa, who in another article said:

"We do not care to discuss the truth or falsity of religious systems; but looking at the matter from a statesman's point of view, we hold that in self-defence the foreign religion should be banished these shores. For this we should not rely so much on government aid or on the influence of scholars. The best method for counteracting the foreign religion is to encourage the native, that is, Buddhism; but the corrupt state of the priesthood is deplorable. . . . The priest preaches one day in the temple, and the next he is found in the meeting of the commercial company. He becomes a bankrupt. He squeezes a profit as broker in making loans. He leans here and flatters there. He is not ashamed to offer bribes. His only aim is to make money. He drowns himself in strong drink. He indulges his lust shamefully in the house of the harlot. We see him nowadays in layman's dress,—perhaps to cover his abominable conduct under the sleeves of his garment." *

Mr. Fukuzawa's attitude was that of many men of his class, and he had considerable to do with shaping public opinion. His paper soon attained great influence, while his school sent forth many talented young men who had imbibed the spirit of their master and who delighted to spread abroad what they had heard from him. It was his pupils who, at this time, translated and published the lectures of Colonel Robert Ingersoll, the American lecturer against Christianity.

* *The Chrysanthemum*, 1882, p. 182.

Occasionally Christian meetings encountered such opposition as is described by Rev. P. K. Fyson of the Church Missionary Society, who, in writing of a chapel in Niigata, says:

"Almost every evening, except when the weather was very bad, I used to go with the catechist to preach there. The number of hearers varied very much; there were frequently fifty or sixty, sometimes eighty and up to one hundred. Sometimes a very noisy set of young men came in and did their best to interrupt the meeting, to the evident annoyance of more sober-minded people who wished to hear what we had to say. The front of the house being open to the street, it was practically equivalent to preaching in the open air, and the people stood in their clogs on the earth floor, so that we could not turn the rowdy ones out, and their yells often completely drowned our voices. *'Makoto no Kami'* ('True God') would be shouted in derision, or *'Namu Amida Butsu'*—the usual Buddhist invocation—jocularly, in opposition. Abusive threats were hurled at us in abundance; 'Sorcerer,' 'Thief,' 'Incendiary,' 'Murderer,' and others too foul to repeat; the catechist coming in for his special share, 'Traitor to your country,' &c. Sometimes dirt and a few stones were thrown, or we found our table or the rain-doors smashed."*

The funerals of believers often proved favourable opportunities, not only for addressing persons that otherwise might never attend Christian services, but also as a means of disproving the assertion often made that Christians treated the bodies of the dead with disrespect, a son not caring though the dogs might devour the corpse of his father. In some way the idea became widespread that at Christian funerals the chief ceremony was the driving of an iron spike into the skull of the dead body, and a morbid curiosity often drew large numbers to see this gruesome rite performed. In Okayama, the first death among the believers was that of a poor paralytic, who lived in a small and wretched house. Most of the Christians in that city belonged to well-to-do families; and it was a great surprise to the people that watched the procession as it passed through the streets, when they saw that the coffin, instead of being carried by coolies, was borne on the shoulders of the young men of the church, and that the poor

*"Japan and the Japan Mission," 2d Ed., p. 117.

paralytic was followed to the grave by so many well-known people. The Japanese think much of having "a splendid funeral," and a religion that would do so much for the poorest of its followers evidently did not deserve the charge of treating the bodies of the dead with disrespect.

Joseph Cook, the well-known Boston lecturer, visited Japan in 1882, and through interpreters addressed many large audiences. He was the first of the noted Christian speakers from abroad that have gone to Japan for such purposes, and his vigorous words attracted much attention. He was invited to speak in Kyoto by some prominent members of the Prefectural Assembly. Hiring a building that held over a thousand people, they assumed all the expenses connected with the lecture. Letters of invitation to be present were sent to leading citizens. The Vice-Governor, many members of the Prefectural Assembly, officials of the city, Buddhist priests, physicians, lawyers and others listened attentively to an address that, with its interpretation, occupied three hours and three-quarters.

While in Japan, Mr. Cook addressed to missionaries and to Japanese workers a number of questions. The replies given by the latter to some of the enquiries will serve to show their view of the situation. The first question was: "What are the chief objections made by educated natives of Japan to the acceptance of Christianity?" To this, four persons in Tokyo united in replying:

"(a) The supernatural element in Christianity; e.g., miracles and divinity of Christ.

"(b) The opposition of Christianity against ancestral worship, especially among those who have received Chinese education.

"(c) The doctrine of future existence, which they consider as a pious fraud.

"(d) Its supposed disadvantage to the growth of national spirit and to the independence of the country.

"(e) Alleged conflicts between Christianity and modern science.

"(f) Supposed hindrances of Christianity to the progress of civilisation."

Ten pastors and teachers in Kyoto replied to the same question: :

"They think that Christianity will destroy patriotism, filial duty, loyalty to the Mikado; give rise to religious wars, become the secret means of foreign interference. They regard the supernatural elements in Christianity as an outgrowth of superstitions and to be antagonistic to modern sciences. They confound Protestantism with Roman and Greek Catholicism."

The question. "What are the chief hindrances to its acceptance by the uneducated among the Japanese?" received from Tokyo the reply:

"(a) The fear of offending the Government and their friends.

"(b) The observance of Sabbath.

"(c) Ancestral worship.

"(d) Simplicity of Christian worship.

"(e) Dislike of change.

"(f) Strictness of Christian morals.

"(g) Sacrifices and obstacles inherent to Christian profession."

The Kyoto workers answered:

"They regard Christianity as a foreign religion. They fear the Government persecutions on account of the attitude of the Government toward the Roman Catholics in the past. They regard Christianity as a demon's religion. They regard the Sabbath and other Christian discipline as too severe and impracticable."

The most specific answer to the enquiry, "What books opposed to evangelical Christianity and a theistic philosophy are the most read by the educated Japanese?" was the following from Tokyo:

"Buckle's 'History of Civilisation' (translated), John S. Mill's works (his 'Essays on Religion and Utilitarianism,' translated), Huxley on 'Protoplasm' (translated), Draper's 'Conflict between Science and Religion' and 'The Intellectual Development in Europe,' Thomas Paine's 'Age of Reason' (translated), Ingersoll's 'Lec-

tures on Gods' (translated), Herbert Spencer's works, Bain's works."

The question, "By what aspects of Christian truth are the most conversions made?" was answered from Tokyo:

"(a) The great comfort which Christianity gives to the afflicted.

"(b) Excellency of Christian morals."

The answer to the same question from Kyoto was:

"(a) The excellence of the Christian ethics.

"(b) The reasonableness of Christian system.

"(c) The doctrine of the New Birth.

"(d) The doctrine of the Atonement.

"(e) The doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul." *

The statistics of Protestant Missions for 1882 include the following items:

Married male missionaries	81
Single male missionaries	8
Single female missionaries	56
Organised churches	93
Of these wholly self-supporting	13
Adults baptised in the year	796
Children baptised in the year	99
Membership, adults	4,367
Membership, children (where reported)	620
Mixed schools	39
Pupils	1,520
Boys' schools	9
Pupils	454
Girls' schools	15
Pupils	566
Theological schools	7
Pupils	71
Sunday schools	109
Pupils	4,132
Ordained preachers	49
Assistant preachers, catechists, etc.	100
Bible women	37
Hospitals	5
In-patients treated in year	795
Dispensaries	8
Patients treated in year	24,898
Contributions of native churches for year ..... *Yen*	12,064.48

* New York *Independent*, October 25, 1883.

VI

RAPID GROWTH

1883-1888

WE have now reached the time when the growth of the Protestant churches and the eagerness of the people to learn about Christianity were such as to arouse the highest hopes of the missionaries, and to excite the wonder of the whole Christian world. Many persons were led to ask the old question with a tone that implied an affirmative answer: "Shall a nation be born in a day?"

Though there is no one point that specifically marks the beginning of this period of rapid growth, the year 1883 has usually been considered as opening a new chapter in the history of the Protestant churches. This is partly because it was the year when important conventions were held, and partly because it saw the beginning of a series of revivals that exerted a powerful influence upon the Christians, and through them upon unbelievers.

The first of the meetings was the Second Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of Japan.* It was held in the Municipal Hall of the Foreign Concession in Osaka, from Monday, April 16, to Saturday, April 21, 1883. One hundred and six missionaries (fifty-eight men and forty-eight women) were in attendance; representing sixteen missionary societies, four Bible societies, and two societies working for seamen.

The first morning Rev. J. H. Ballagh of the Reformed Church Mission, preached a sermon on "The Need and Promise of the Power of the Holy Spirit in Our Work

* The first was held in 1872.

as Missionaries," the text being Acts i. 8. "By the thought pervading this sermon," wrote Dr. G. W. Knox, "the conference was borne along; it showed itself at every devotional meeting and found expression again and again in the various addresses."

The Conference was organised with three Chairmen:—J. C. Hepburn, M.D., LL.D., of the American Presbyterian Mission; Rev. R. S. Maclay, D.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Mission; and Rev. C. F. Warren of the Church Missionary Society. The first of these, in replying to an address of welcome, referred to the fact that twenty-four years ago that month he and his wife had started from New York on their way to Japan. They knew not whether they would be allowed to land; and when, in October, their ship entered the Bay of Yedo, they knelt down to pray that in some way a home might be provided for them, and that they might be guided in the work they were about to undertake. He did not then know whether he should ever see one Japanese brought to Christ; he little thought that he would ever be privileged to preside over such a meeting as was now being held.

The first paper presented to the Conference was a "History of Protestant Missions in Japan," by Rev. G. F. Verbeck; a paper that has been the authority for many of the statements contained in the present work. Other papers dealt with the different forms of missionary activity, the obstacles to the reception of Christianity by the Japanese, and other allied themes. One day was given to the consideration of "Self-support of the Native Churches," the most radical views being those contained in a paper by Rev. H. H. Leavitt of the American Board Mission, who contended that no aid from mission funds should be given to churches, evangelists, or schools. In the evening the subject was further considered at a united Conference of Japanese and Foreign Workers. Rev. Paul Sawayama, who had been closely associated with Mr. Leavitt, and whose own church had been conducted on the principles he advocated, read a paper in which he took the ground that the Japanese Church should "provide money sufficient

to cover the whole expense of the evangelistic, pastoral, and educational work of the Church, without receiving any pecuniary assistance whatever from foreign missionary societies," the latter providing only for the support of the missionaries. A paper by Rev. Paul Kanamori advocated that, while the church expenses and the support of native evangelists should be provided by the Japanese, foreign help should be given for schools and for the production of Christian literature. Other Japanese that joined in the discussion were not ready to take so radical positions as these speakers.

The evident spirit of unity among the missionaries present at this Conference made a great impression on the Japanese that attended the meetings or heard of them through the reports in the Christian papers. The missionaries had come together full of courage and hope. The remarkable success attending past labours led to a strong belief that, under God's blessing, Japan would in a few years be a Christian nation. Some went so far as to say that, if the call sent out by the Conference asking for re-enforcements was heeded by the churches at home, the work of evangelising Japan could be accomplished within ten years, or at least before the close of the century. Lastly, there was a deep devotional spirit. Some had come with hearts warmed by revival scenes among foreigners and Japanese at Yokohama and Tokyo. The Conference had for weeks been made the subject of much prayer. During the sessions, several Japanese churches in different parts of the land held special meetings to ask God's blessing on all that was done. The devotional meetings held in connection with the Conference itself, were pervaded with an earnest desire that those present might receive power from on high to fit them for the work to which they had been called.

Among the acts of the Conference was the preparation of a letter addressed to the Convention of the Japanese Churches, which was to meet the next month in Tokyo. It told of the unity of spirit and harmony of opinion that had prevailed among the missionaries in their meeting, expressed sympathy with the Japanese

workers, and prayed that a blessing might rest upon them during their deliberations, and in all their work.

The Convention of the Japanese churches had been preceded by events that prepared the way for making it a meeting full of power and enthusiasm. A deep religious interest that began among the foreign sailors in Yokohama had spread to the churches of that city and Tokyo. During the Week of Prayer at the beginning of the year, great earnestness in seeking a blessing from God and in carrying the Gospel to non-believers, had been manifested among the churches. Dr. Maclay of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, wrote early in the spring:

"A spirit of religious revival, bringing times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, is spreading in Japan, both among the foreign community and among Japanese Christians. I have not before seen anything like it since coming to Japan, and trust we are about to witness signal displays of divine mercy in the conversion of souls."

Just before the meeting of the Convention, Rev. H. Kozaki, the pastor of a Kumi-ai * church in Tokyo, wrote:

"Thank God! He is doing a mighty work among us. The Day of Pentecost is now being realised here. Many churches about Tokyo are just now undergoing the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Our church and the Methodist church are especially blessed. We are holding prayer-meetings every evening this week through. Every evening many were blessed with the Spirit,

* Though the designation "Kumi-ai" did not come into general use until a later date, it is convenient to employ it when speaking of the churches that afterwards adopted it as their name. These churches, which had grown up in connection with the work of the American Board Mission, had at first no distinctive name. They would gladly have continued to be known simply as Christian churches; but some convenient way of designating them became almost a necessity. It became evident that, if they did not choose some name for themselves, one would be fastened upon them by others; and at last, with considerable reluctance, they formally adopted the title "Kumi-ai." Though it might be more convenient for most readers of this book to have the term "Congregational" used for these churches, their own preferences in the matter make it better to keep the Japanese word.

and many new ones confessed their faith in Christ, while all were undergoing the most extraordinary experience. I now realise the prophecy of the prophet Joel: 'And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out My Spirit,' etc. The last night I could not sleep till one o'clock because of the anxious enquirers after the truth; this morning about half-past five, they came again to see me."

In Osaka a few Christians began to meet daily, to pray for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Their earnestness extended to others, so that the churches of different denominations soon united in daily prayer-meetings. "There was no excitement, but intense fervour and definiteness, both in prayer and exhortation."

The Osaka Conference of Missionaries exerted a helpful influence upon the Convention in Tokyo. Japanese Christians in attendance at the former gathering had been impressed by its spirit of harmony and earnestness. They were thus the better prepared to promote a similar spirit in their own meeting. Those of them that were connected with the Kumi-ai churches were further helped by a meeting of their Missionary Society held in Kyoto the last of April.

Perhaps the Tokyo Convention will be best described by extracts from a letter sent by Mr. Neesima to the missionaries of the American Board who were at the same time holding their annual meeting in Kyoto. He wrote May 11:

"I am anxious to write you a few lines telling how the Lord blessed us in our great fellowship meeting. We commenced it on Tuesday with a one-hour prayer-meeting. It was the most impressive service I ever attended in my life. A spirit of union was greatly manifested in that meeting. In the afternoon we had reports from the delegates. It was a most enjoyable part of the conference. I can assure you that the Lord blessed us far more than we asked for. On Wednesday we had a prayer-meeting from eight to nine A. M.; public meeting for speaking in the afternoon. About seven hundred were present. Thursday's programme was just the same. I preached this morning at the communion service. There was an hour of prayer-meeting before the communion. Mr. Okuno served at the communion table. It was the richest part of the meeting. All the people burst into tears. For this afternoon, topics on personal faith, education of preachers, and self-support were brought out for discussion, but I found myself so exhausted I did not attend. There is

perfect union between the native brethren and the missionaries, and these two united parties are happily united in the Lord.

"May 12. I will add a few more lines to my yesterday's note to you. I attended the union prayer-meeting last night. The house was completely filled for the largest prayer-meeting I ever attended in Japan. It commenced promptly at eight P. M., and closed at ten P. M. No vain and useless words were uttered either in remarks or prayers. Three or four persons stood up at once, and the leader of the meeting was obliged to ask others to wait until one finished. At the same time they seemed calm and serious. There was no undue excitement. The spirit of union was wonderfully manifested then. Numbers of our native brethren confessed that they have been very ungrateful toward the missionaries, and begged their pardon for it. A few missionary brethren made very impressive remarks, and seemed so glad and happy."

The delegates in Tokyo hastened to inform their churches by letter or telegram of the blessings that were being received. Though most of the pastors and evangelists were in attendance on the Convention, the Christians, whom they had left behind, continued with new earnestness the daily prayer-meetings that had been already inaugurated, or began them where they had not previously been held. Hitherto the acceptance of Christianity had, with many, been only an intellectual acknowledment of its truth; but now there came to them a real sense of personal sin, an acceptance of Christ as a personal Saviour, and an earnest desire for the spiritual welfare of others.

Soon the delegates returned to their churches. "They were like new men. They had evidently received fresh light, grace, and power from on high." Ere long the letters of the missionaries began to be filled with joyful accounts of the revival. Rev. C. F. Warren, of the Church Missionary Society, wrote from Osaka:

"During the whole of my ministerial experience of nearly twenty years, whether in China, England, or Japan, I never before witnessed such tokens of the presence and power of the Spirit of God. It was a blessed time of refreshing, and, thank God, the results have not been transient."

Rev. C. S. Long, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, reported:

"The Lord is doing a glorious work in Nagasaki. The Holy Spirit is being poured out upon the missionaries and natives in marvellous showers. Scores are being genuinely converted, testifying to the truth and power of the new religion. Persons who have been members of the Church for years are being born into the kingdom of grace and glory, and for the first time are realising the joy of sins forgiven and adoption into the spiritual kingdom of Christ. The Lord is certainly doing a wonderful work among us. The news is spreading through the city, and hundreds are flocking to the church. The members of other churches are becoming interested, and there is every indication that the glorious work will spread in every direction, and that hundreds will be brought to a knowledge of the true God. It is marvellous indeed. I never saw anything more striking at home." *

In August Rev. M. L. Gordon, of the American Board Mission, wrote from Kyoto:

"The sense of sin, and the need of the Holy Spirit, and His actual working also, have been experienced as never before and to an extent which mere words, even the words of Scripture, could not effect, but which, when effected by the Spirit, most naturally find expression in the words of Scripture. A great many touching incidents have occurred. I heard one of our most devoted and self-denying pastors . . . tell how one night after they had retired, a brother sprang on him the question: 'If ambition were subtracted from your heart, what would the remainder be?' 'It pierced,' he said, 'like an arrow; for my heart told me that the true reply would be *zero*.' He told, in the same address, how reading the life of Luther had done him great harm by filling his mind with thoughts of doing great and astonishing work rather than attending to the humble and faithful performance of the work God gave him to do.

"Mr. Neesima went to the great meeting in Tokyo prepared to advocate very strongly the necessity of union and harmony, first among the Japanese Christians themselves, and also between them and the missionaries; but he found no need of the speech he had prepared, for the whole assembly were already enthusiastically committed to the idea of union." †

In nearly all places where Christian work had been established the churches were crowded with eager listeners. Requests were constantly coming to the missionaries, urging them to visit cities where people de-

* Quoted by *Mis. Herald*, September, 1883, from *Northern Christian Advocate*.

† *Mis. Herald*, November, 1883.

sired instruction. There were large accessions to the membership of the churches. The pastors and the missionaries were filled with the highest hopes. An editorial in the *Independent* (New York) of September 6, 1883, fairly represents the feelings of those that were interested in the evangelisation of Japan. It says:

> "It is not an extravagant anticipation that Japan may become a Christian nation in seventeen years. The Christian missionaries in Japan are now working with a strong hope that the twentieth century will open upon that island empire no longer a foreign mission field, but predominantly Christian, converted from shadowy paganisms and vague philosophies which now retain but a feeble hold upon the people, and received into the brotherhood of Christendom. A Japanese Constantine is not far off."

The year 1884 saw the movement in favour of Christianity extending and deepening. It was about this time that the word *rebaiburu* (revival) gained a place in the vocabulary of the Christians; and there was constant occasion for its use in connection with the spiritual awakenings that took place in the churches and Christian schools. One of the most marked of these was in the Doshisha. About the first of March, several of the Christian students began a daily meeting, which was held at half-past nine in the evening at the close of study-hours. The numbers in attendance and the interest constantly increased until, on Sunday, March 16, the whole school showed that it was greatly moved. The different classes held meetings in which for hours they engaged in prayer, confession of sins, and praise. Through the following week the young men could think of hardly anything else than their relations to God. But few in the school remained unmoved. The students were eager to go out and tell others of the blessings they had received. It was with difficulty that they were induced to be satisfied with choosing three representatives who should carry the report to the churches, while the others should wait until the approaching vacation. To those that know the excitable nature of the young men of Japan, it will not seem strange that there were some extravagances. The teachers, and especially the mission-

aries, endeavoured to guard against excesses; urging "as strongly as they knew how, that the regularity of school life be maintained as regards studies, meals, exercise, and sleep; that the prayer-meetings be held early in the evening and be rigidly restricted to one hour; and that special pains be taken to secure quiet during the evening."

Among the churches there were many revivals. We read of prayer-meetings "full of tears, sobbings, and broken confessions of sins." In theatres and other buildings large audiences listened quietly and earnestly to the preaching of the Gospel. In Tokyo, where formerly such meetings had been subject to disturbance, four thousand people assembled in one of the theatres and showed no signs of opposition.

The rapid growth of the churches at this time is exemplified by that of the Kumi-ai body. In the year ending March 31, 1884, the total membership increased sixty-eight per cent.; and in the next year, fifty-three per cent.

It will be remembered that so late as 1881 Mr. Fukuzawa Yukichi had published essays in which he opposed Christianity as dangerous to the nation, and had even gone so far as to urge that the Government take measures to prevent its extension. It seems very strange to find this leader of public opinion publishing only three years later an essay entitled "The Adoption of the Foreign Religion is Necessary." After speaking of the way in which some animals protect themselves from danger by taking on the colour of their surroundings, he said:

"It is an undeniable fact that the civilised countries of Europe and America excel all other lands not only in political institutions, but also in religion, in customs, and manners. It is natural therefore that they should be inclined to despise nations that differ from them in these particulars, as that other nations should appreciate their superiority and strive to imitate their example. Thus these features of a superior civilisation in Europe and America constitute a certain social distinctive colour world-wide in its character. Any nation therefore which lacks this distinctive badge of Western civilisation stands in the position of an

opponent, and is not only unable to cope with the superiority of enlightened Americans and Europeans, but is directly or indirectly exposed to their derision. Hence one of the disadvantages under which inferior nations labour when they present a different colour from that of Western nations. The adoption of Western religion, along with institutions and customs, is the only means by which the social colour can become so assimilated as to remove this bar to intercourse and this cause of opposition. . . .

"The civilised nations of Europe and America have always held that non-Christian countries could not be treated as enlightened nations. Such being the case, if we desire to maintain our intercourse with Western nations on the basis of international law, it is first of all absolutely necessary that we remove completely the stigma from our land of being an anti-Christian country, and obtain the recognition of fellowship by the adoption of their social color.

"Our suggestion may seem to imply a base currency and a subordination of our country to the sway of foreign powers, but such is by no means the case. According to the natural principle of all mundane intercourse, the inferior party can never hope to exercise a superior influence over the stronger. . . . To yield to enlightenment and to adopt civilised manners would not by any means indicate the policy of a sycophant, but simply a policy of self-defence by adopting the protective color of civilisation among civilised nations.

"Looked at from this point, it would appear that we ought to adopt a religion which, prevailing in Europe and America, exerts so considerable an influence over human affairs and social intercourse, so that our country may become a part of Christendom, presenting the same social appearance as Western powers, and sharing with them the advantages and disadvantages of their civilisation. We believe that the diplomatic adjustment of international intercourse with the outer world can be effected only by pursuing the course here suggested.

"As before stated, if we are not mistaken in our arguments, there is no alternative for our own country but to adopt the social colour of civilised nations in order to maintain our independence on a footing of equality with the various powers of the West. As an absolutely necessary preliminary, however, the Christian religion must be introduced from Europe and America, where it is propagated with the utmost enthusiasm. The adoption of this religion will not fail to bring the feelings of our people and the institutions of our land into harmony with those of the lands of the Occident. We earnestly desire, therefore, for the sake of our national administration that steps be taken for the introduction of Christianity as the religion of Japan.

"It must, however, be borne in mind that, although we have frequently adverted to religious subjects, we have refrained from expressing an opinion as to the nature of any—*i.e.*, as to their truth or falsity. From the standpoint of a private individual, we

may say that we take little or no interest in the subject of religion, as it does not affect our personal feelings or sentiments." *

In a later article Mr. Fukuzawa said that in order to have Japan put on an equal footing with other nations,

"We must change our professed belief and wear a religious dress uniform with others. We mean by professed belief, what we profess to believe apart from the question of what may be our true doctrine. It would be sufficient to make it publicly known that Japan is a Christian country. . . . We do not mean that the majority of our countrymen should be Christians. A small number, one for every hundred, will be sufficient. All that is required is the assumption of the title of a Christian country. The steps necessary for the Christianisation of the country are to register the creed of Japanese Christians, permit the conduct of funeral ceremonies by missionaries, and gradually introduce baptism among the upper and middle classes. We cannot attach too much importance to Japan's entrance into the comity of Christian nations." †

Astonishing as it may seem to the reader that a man in Mr. Fukuzawa's position should be willing to advocate such hypocrisy, he was followed by others that spoke and wrote in favour of the same policy. It is said that some of them went so far as to urge that the Emperor receive baptism so that Japan might at once be counted as a Christian country. Among the politicians that were agitating in favour of a constitutional government were some that hoped to make Christianity a tool for accomplishing their purpose. Many other influential persons recognised the moral power of Christianity and, though not willing themselves to yield to its restraints, they sent their children to Christian schools and contributed to the support of Christian institutions.

The leader of the Liberal Party, which was agitating for popular government, was Mr. (afterwards Count) Itagaki. Early in 1884 he visited Imabari, Shikoku, in order to give a political lecture. This town was the seat of one of the most flourishing churches in Japan;

* Translation in *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 12, 1884.
† Translation in *Japan Weekly Mail*, January 24, 1885.

and some of his party residing there had said that their leader would give the foreign religion its death-blow. Great was their surprise when Mr. Itagaki invited the pastor of the church to deliver an address upon the Christian view of politics. Not only did Mr. Itagaki applaud the sentiments that were expressed, but in his own speech he said that Christianity was one of the needs of the hour, for Japan could not hope to rank with Western nations until it possessed their religion. Soon after this, Mr. Itagaki invited the missionaries of the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches to visit Kochi, the city in which he lived. He asked the leading merchants, bankers, and politicians to meet them, was himself present at the public gatherings, and delivered an address in which he advocated the adoption of Christianity. There had before this been some interest in Christianity aroused by visits of Rev. J. L. Atkinson, and it was now greatly increased. Mr. Itagaki did all he could to aid the movement from outside, but did not profess to become himself a follower of Christ. Others, however, and among them some who afterwards held prominent places in political circles, became believers. A few months later, a church was formed that was self-supporting from the first, Mr. Itagaki presenting it with a building, and promising to pay one-half of the pastor's salary.

The *Japan Mail* (July 12, 1884), speaking of the great change in public opinion, said that the best minds in Japan were beginning to appreciate what the Christian work of previous years had accomplished.

> "The quiet work of these years, in school and chapel, by means of tens of thousands of books and tracts assiduously circulated, together with the influence of pure personal and family life, has prepared the way for such a movement as the present. The Christian Church in Japan, small though it be, is making a good record for itself—so good, indeed, that rascals make it profitable to counterfeit the true—while the indirect results of the new faith are traceable far beyond the reach of nominal believers."

As might be supposed, the missionaries were much encouraged at the outlook. Many of them felt that the

time had come for broader plans and more vigorous efforts. An address by Rev. C. S. Eby of the Canadian Methodist Mission, entitled "The Immediate Christianisation of Japan: Prospects, Plans, Results," excited much interest in those who heard it, and in others who read it as afterwards printed. The special plans it urged included the establishment of "a national Christian University, which shall not only offer better advantages than the Imperial University of Tokyo, but vie with the best universities in our home lands," for which two million dollars should be asked from Christian philanthropists of the West; a "central Apologetical Institute or Lectureship of Christian Philosophy, which should be housed in an imposing building of solid construction containing a hall capable of seating from one thousand to five thousand people, and a library of choice apologetic and other literature;" the increase of the "missionary force by one hundred or more evangelists who shall have nothing to do but to preach;" and the uniting of churches having nearly the same polity and belief, so that there should be but five denominations, all "working in harmony to gather in the fruits and build for all time."

The Tokyo and Yokohama Missionary Conference, before which this paper was read, gave it an enthusiastic approval and drew up an elaborate plan for carrying out its recommendations. Doubtless the difficulties involved in such a programme were more or less evident to all; but none felt like opposing what was in itself desirable, however utopian the plan might appear. It is needless to say that men and means were never supplied. The paper cannot be said, however, to have been without any good results. It did something to aid the slowly developing movement for union among closely related churches; and the establishment in Tokyo, at a later date, of the Central Tabernacle by Mr. Eby's own mission, was a partial carrying out of his plan for an Apologetical Institute.

The educational work carried on by the different missions kept pace with the rapid advance in other directions. Already in 1883 the Methodist Episcopal Mis-

sion had established in Tokyo the Aoyama Gakuin, comprising a theological school, a college, and an academy for boys; as also a seminary for girls. In 1884 the Canadian Methodists opened the Toyo Eiwa Gakko in Tokyo; the Evangelical Association, a seminary in the same city; the Church Missionary Society, a school for boys and also a divinity school, both in Osaka; the Baptists, a theological seminary in Yokohama; and the American Board, a school for Bible-women in Kobe. The same year the Scripture Union was established, its object being to encourage the reading of the Bible. A programme of daily readings was prepared for its members, many of whom were not members of churches, but promised to read the passages selected. The society soon gained members in all parts of the Empire.

In August, 1884, the Government issued a notification to the effect that "the Shinto and Buddhist Official Priesthood has been abolished, and the power of appointing and discharging incumbents of religious temples and monasteries, and the promotion and degradation in rank of preceptors, has been transferred to the religious superintendents of those sects;" under certain regulations that were of such a nature as to relieve the Government from all responsilibility for the conduct of religious affairs. Thus the connection of these religions with the State was almost completely severed. One practical result of the new regulations accompanying this notification was that permission was given the people to bury their dead under such forms as they preferred. This greatly lessened the power of the Buddhist priests to annoy the Christians, though they were still able to prevent burials in cemeteries that belonged to the temples.

Notwithstanding the evident intention of the Government to favour religious liberty, priests and local officials often attempted to put obstacles in the way of Christianity. One of the under officials in a town near Kobe was forbidden by his superior to attend Christian services, to have family worship, or even to read the Bible. He accordingly resigned his office, but was

soon after appointed to a higher position. In another place, when a Christian was chosen upon the school-board, the mayor united with others in holding back the returns and refusing to let him serve. They also endeavoured to get a Christian teacher to feign sickness or plead some other excuse for handing in his resignation. He refused to oblige them, and they could bring no complaint against him except his religion.

In several places chapels were stoned, windows broken, and occasionally personal injury inflicted. In one town the stones were so large and numerous that the Christians preserved them and used them a few years later as part of the foundation of a church building. In other places such missiles were inscribed: "Persecution Stones," and kept as mementoes. In Takahashi, Bitchiu, where drums were beaten and other methods taken to disturb Christian meetings, an amusing incident occurred. Some young men had managed to catch a large number of black snakes. These they carried in a basket one evening to the Christian chapel with the intention of throwing them into the midst of the worshippers. There was a crowd of people before the open front of the house, trying in its own way to cause annoyance, and the young men attempted to throw the basket over the heads of these people into the house. As it left their hands, it accidentally caught in such a way as to turn it upside down, dropping its contents on the heads of the outsiders, and it was they instead of the Christians who were startled and put to flight by the uncanny reptiles.

It was commonly believed that the Buddhist priests in Kyoto had instigated attacks that were made upon the Christians. The Governor of the prefecture, therefore, called together the heads of the different sects that he might remonstrate with them. After reminding them that the Japanese Government was endeavouring to get foreign nations to consent to a revision of the treaties, he told them that, if success attended these efforts, foreigners would be permitted to reside in the interior, and must be left free to believe and to preach their religion. He then said: "We have recently heard

that Buddhist believers sometimes interrupt the Protestant and Roman Catholic preachers, destroy their houses and property, and injure Christian converts. If such riotous actions be frequently indulged in, it is a thousand to one if the matter do not become a question with every foreign government. . . . Seek to influence the priests of your sects to instruct their followers and not suffer them to make mistakes and injure our country." It was probably because of this warning that the Chief Abbot of the Shin sect issued a letter calling on the priests to be submissive to notifications issued by the Government and not to use violence in their efforts to prevent people from becoming Christians.

The following letter was received by missionaries in Kyoto:

"To the Four American Barbarians; Davis, Gordon, Learned, and Greene; We speak to you who have come with words that are sweet in the mouth but a sword in the heart, bad priests, American barbarians, four robbers. You have come from a far country with the evil religion of Christ and as slaves of the Japanese robber Neesima. With bad teaching you are gradually deceiving the people; but we know your hearts, and hence we shall soon with Japanese swords inflict the punishment of heaven upon you. Japan being truly a flourishing, excellent country, in ancient times when Buddhism first came to Japan, those who brought it were killed; in the same way you must be killed. But we do not want to defile the sacred soil of Japan with your abominable blood; for this reason we wait two weeks and you must leave Kyoto and go to your country; if not, the little robbers of the Doshisha School, and all the believers of this way in the city, will be killed; hence, take your families and go quickly.

"Patriots in the Peaceful City; Believers in Shinto."

After a while the efforts of the Buddhists against Christianity took the form of what was known as *Yaso Taiji,* or Movement for the Extermination of the Religion of Jesus. Priests and others visited different parts of the country delivering lectures, forming societies, and stirring up the people to resist the progress of Christianity. One of the leading arguments they advanced against it was that it required its followers to abstain from war, and, therefore, in case Japan should be attacked, they would do nothing for the defence of their country.

It is said that these agitators were officially warned that they must give up the use of the word *taiji*. However this may have been, there continued to be from time to time incidents that showed the Government to be in favour of toleration. Among these the *Japan Mail* called attention to what took place at the funeral of Mr. Davidow, the Russian Minister, in December, 1885. It says of the ceremony, which was conducted in accordance with the rites of the Greek Church:

"It was essentially official. Japanese princes were present in the chapel; Japanese Ministers of State in full uniform walked behind the bier; Japanese artillery fired minute guns; and the body of the deceased Minister was deposited in a mausoleum erected by the Japanese Government. But at the head of the cortège marched a body of Japanese Christians; Japanese priests took a prominent part in performing the funeral rites; and a choir of Japanese girls and boys sang the requiem for the dead."

In 1885 three new missions began work in Japan. They were those of the Presbyterian Church of the United States,* of the American Society of Friends, and of the Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society (German and Swiss). As this last society is not well known by American and English Christians, and as its principles and methods differ in some respects from those of others working in Japan, a few words concerning it will not be out of place. The society was organised in 1884, being "the first attempt of Liberal Christianity to co-operate in mission work in accordance with its own convictions." One of its promoters expressed the principles of the society in the following theses:

"We must bring the Gospel to the civilised heathen nations:
"1. Not as human wisdom, but as a divine revelation;
"2. Not as the sole, but as a perfect revelation;
"3. Not as a new culture, but as a help in moral distress;
"4. Not as a party or denominational matter, but as a testimony of the one and only Saviour;
"5. Not as a collection of remarkable doctrines, but as an act of God for our salvation;

* That of the Southern States of the American Union, the corresponding one of the Northern States being the Presbyterian Church *in* the United States.

"6. Not as the history of something past, but as a power of God experienced by the Christian in his own heart."

Its representatives in Japan, as described by one of their number:

"Aim at a reconciliation of Christianity with the modern view of the world by striving after an up-to-date expression of the eternal truth of the simple Gospel of Jesus, adapted at the same time to the particular needs of the Japanese, instead of offering ancient but transient formulas of Western dogmatics and worship."

The first missionary of this society was Pastor Wilfred Spinner, D.D. Almost immediately after his arrival, he began to publish a monthly magazine, entitled *Shinri* (Truth). This was sent gratuitously to many of the leading preachers, among whom it soon exerted a strong influence. Dr. Spinner himself was invited to teach history in a school preparatory to the Imperial University. His scholarly attainments attracted many to the addresses on religious and philosophical subjects that he soon commenced to give. In 1887 the first church was organised, taking the name, Fukyu Fukuin Kyokwai, or General Evangelical Church. A theological school was opened the same year.

Bishop Poole, who had come in 1883, to supervise the work carried on by the missions of the Church of England, spent but ten months in the country before ill health made it necessary for him to return to England. There he died in 1885. The next year Bishop Edward Bickersteth succeeded to the office. He was the son of the Bishop of Exeter and, like his predecessor, had been a missionary in India.

Work among the Ainu, the aborigines living in Yezo, had been begun by Rev. J. Batchelor of the Church Missionary Society. It was attended by many difficulties. The language had to be studied without help from books. The Ainu were addicted to strong drink, and the Japanese that dwelt among them and often tyrannised over them tried to keep them from coming under the influence of the missionaries. In 1885 the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the hymn "Jesus Loves Me"—"the

first things ever printed in the Ainu language"—were struck off by Mr. Batchelor on a small hand-press. At later dates he published translations of the Scriptures and the Prayer Book. He has also published in English, books upon the Ainu language, as well as descriptions of the people and their customs. On Christmas Day, 1885, the first Ainu was baptised. He was the son of a village chief. After this, a few baptisms occurred from time to time, until in 1893 there was an ingathering of one hundred and seventy-one persons. At the time of the Tokyo Conference in 1900, there were more than eleven hundred and fifty Ainu Christians. In addition to direct evangelistic work Mr. Batchelor and his associates opened schools and established in Sapporo a "Rest-house" to accommodate Ainu out-patients that come to receive treatment at the Japanese hospital in that city. A sad feature of the efforts made for the evangelisation of the Ainu is the knowledge that, as Mr. Batchelor says, "The race is a dying one, and nothing that can now be done can save it."

Several essays published in 1886 by Japanese writers are noteworthy for the favourable, though patronising, tone in which they speak of Christianity. Professor Toyama of the Imperial University, in an article on the education of girls, said that it would be a great advantage if they could be instructed by European or American ladies. The most feasible way of bringing this about would be by the aid of Christian missionaries, whom he advised to establish five or six large schools in Tokyo. To those missionaries who might object that they came to Japan for purposes of propagandism, not of education, he replied that the most effective way of extending their religion would be by educating girls of the higher classes; for conversion to a new faith, as history teaches, begins with women. Let them believe, and the faith of the children would certainly follow. There was no reason to fear that the people of the higher classes would be so averse to Christianity as not to send their daughters to these schools. The Japanese were not hostile to any particular religion, though contemptuous of all. If con-

vinced that benefits came from any creed, they would not show antipathy to it. The present schools were not of sufficiently high grade, nor were they centrally located. There ought also to be classes for adult women where they could learn Western customs.

The great desire among the upper classes to adopt Western ways was, indeed, at its height. Officials were required to wear the European style of dress while on duty, and women were urged to exchange their robes for the dresses worn by their Western sisters. This movement was largely political, for those that promoted it said: "So long as we are attired in Oriental garb, we are treated as Orientals; if we wish to be regarded by Europeans as on an equality with themselves, we must put on their outward appearance." With the same end in view, balls and other Occidental forms of entertainment were introduced. It was under such circumstances that Professor Toyama issued a pamphlet on "The Relations between Social Reforms and Christianity." In it he advocated the adoption of Christianity for the following reasons:—1. Christianity assists in the improvement of music; 2. Its adoption will help to develop ability for combination and union, in which Japanese are very deficient; 3. Its influence will elevate the position of women, and bring the sexes together in a way that will benefit both. He closed by saying:

"The reformers of society must not be contented with such paltry measures as the inauguration of balls and garden parties. Those who, while enthusiastically admiring the customs and manners of the West, do not exert themselves to further the introduction of that religion which has the most intimate connection with those manners and customs, must lay themselves open to the charge of being either ignorant or cowardly."

Somewhat later Professor Toyama published "A New Plea for the Advancement of Christianity." This manifested the same desire to make that religion a tool for advancing the causes in which he was interested. While still advocating the education of girls in Christian schools, he also urged the missionaries to establish preparatory schools to fit students for entrance to the Imperial Uni-

versity, since public opinion would become favourable to Christianity when the highest institution of learning was permeated with that religion.

A Japanese gentleman contributed to the *Japan Mail*, in May, 1886, an essay upon "Christianity in Japan." He referred to a scene witnessed seven years before at the graduation exercises of the University. The students had been acting very rudely, wearing their hats, coughing, and making various noises to interrupt the addresses. At last, as one of the speakers came upon the platform, he rebuked this conduct. The only effect was to increase the disturbance; but when the speaker announced that his subject was "Christianity," the hall was suddenly hushed into silence, while the students, one by one, removed their hats and all listened respectfully to hear what would be said by one who was known to be a strenuous opponent of the religion concerning which he was to speak. Great was their satisfaction when he fervently denounced it as the most hateful enemy of reason, of science, and of everything good. The essayist said of the students of that time: "We hated Christianity and Christians, because these words were in our minds synonymous with whatever was opposed to the honour and independence of the nation." A marvellous change, however, had been wrought in seven years. The persevering efforts of missionaries and native believers had doubtless been the principal agents in leading the nation to its present attitude towards Christianity; but they had been aided by various factors, political and social. Among the former was the problem of treaty revision, Mr. Fukuzawa and others having shown the people that in order to be treated as equals, their laws, system of government, education, and above all, religion, must be recast upon Western models. The attitude of the missionaries, who had said and written much in favour of a revision of the treaties, had won the good will of the people. Moreover, the religion of Christ was believed to be favourable to those principles of human equality and liberty that a majority of progressive young men were advocating, and thus they had been led to regard that religion in an entirely different light from that shed upon it by their traditional

prejudices. Under social influences the writer referred to the impressions that had been made upon students who had studied abroad, and to the closer relations that had been established between Japanese and the foreign residents. Among the principal reasons for what the essayist regarded as slow progress in gaining converts, he mentioned sectarian strife, want of funds, and the failure of missionaries to present Christianity in the form best suited to the national genius of the Japanese. Enlarging on the last point, he urged the teaching of Christianity "in its rationalistic aspect" without superstition, he being convinced that in its rigid, orthodox form it would never obtain any general or firm hold on the minds of educated Japanese. He would have the native churches become as soon as possible entirely independent, and as a help to this they should be united. They should cut themselves "entirely free from the history of Christianity in the West and begin a new experience on an entirely new and enlightened basis—a basis laid in the Bible and preserved from decay by the healthy light of modern science."

A writer in the *Tokyo Independent* recommended Unitarianism as a state religion and would reconcile a belief in one God with Shinto rites by considering the shrines erected in honour of emperors and heroes to be like mausoleums of such great men as Napoleon and Washington.

The desire for Western civilisation was naturally accompanied by increased interest in the study of the English language. In 1885 forty thousand books were imported from England and fifty-nine thousand from America; while in 1886 the numbers increased to eighty-five thousand and one hundred and nineteen thousand respectively. The efforts of the Government to have English taught in the public schools was hampered by the lack of teachers. Mission schools were crowded. In several places the native Christians established schools and urged missionaries to aid in the teaching. In other cities, companies largely or wholly composed of non-believers proposed to establish schools that should be taught by missionaries and native Christians, more or

less freedom being given them to teach the Bible and to exert a religious influence upon the pupils.

Among the schools was one established in Sendai. A wealthy and influential gentleman of that city, who had formerly been the Japanese Consul in New York, asked Mr. Neesima to lend his name to the founding of a school that it was hoped would gradually develop into a college like those of New England. This gentleman said that if the American Board would promise to furnish teachers for ten years, the people of Sendai would provide buildings, salaries for native teachers, and all other necessary funds. When Mr. Neesima with a member of the Mission visited Sendai, they were welcomed by the Governor and other prominent men, were told that five thousand *yen* was pledged for the new school, and were assured that its religious basis should be the same as that of the Doshisha. The Mission decided to accept the invitation. Rev. J. H. DeForest, D.D., was assigned to the work and others were at different times associated with him. The school was opened in October, 1886, the exercises including prayer and the reading of the Scriptures. Of the seven members of the faculty, six were Christians, though none of the patrons of the schools were professed believers. There were at first one hundred and twenty-two pupils. Twenty of these were baptised the first year. The Bible was one of the text-books, though its study was optional. The general exercises held each morning included a prayer.

A more formal opening of the school took place in June, 1887. It was attended by the Governor, Vice-Governor, Mayor, judges, generals, and leading citizens. Here, too, the Christian character of the school was openly declared.

At times the school was the object of severe attacks by the local press and by persons who were opposed to the teaching of Christianity. At last the prefectural government decided to establish another school of similar grade. This was in accordance with the policy of the Educational Department, which was opposed to private schools. Knowing that financial reasons would make it impossible to contend against this new difficulty, the teachers decided

to resign. The closing exercises in 1891, like those that opened the school four years before, were attended by officials and prominent citizens, much regret being expressed that an institution which had done such good work must be closed. The experiment of a Christian school supported and governed by non-Christians was thus brought to an untimely end. It was felt, however, by the American Board Mission that the strength expended on it had not been lost. Several of the students had become Christians, some of them entered the theological or other departments of the Doshisha, and much evangelistic work had been done in the city by the teachers.

Another school was opened at Sendai in the same year as the one we have been considering; and the histories of the two institutions present points of comparison that perhaps are not without instructive lessons. The second school in its beginning did not attract much attention, nor did it enjoy the favour of prominent citizens. The prospects of permanence and future influence seemed less promising than those of the other. Some time previous to this, evangelistic work had been begun in Sendai by Rev. Oshikawa Masayoshi and another preacher. In 1886 Rev. W. E. Hoy of the Reformed (German) Church in the United States took up his residence in the same city; and in June of that year he and Mr. Oshikawa gathered seven young men, candidates for the Christian ministry, into a class that was at first held in an old dwelling house on the outskirts of the city. After one or two removals it had in 1888 a small building of its own, the pupils then numbering twenty-eight. When a new brick building was dedicated in 1892, there were seventeen theological and one hundred and thirty-three other students. Though not free from difficulties and vicissitudes, the school that began so humbly has in the main been prospered, and as the Tohoku Gakuin has become one of the most influential Christian institutions in the land.

Somewhat similar to the history of the first of these Sendai schools was that of one opened in Niigata, although in this case the leading trustees were Christians.

The school met with much opposition from Buddhists and others. It also suffered from internal dissensions; one of its presidents and afterwards the principal of the school attempting to eliminate Christianity, and to minimise the influence of missionary teachers. Financial difficulties that here, as in Sendai, were intensified by the establishment of a government school, finally necessitated the abandonment of the enterprise.

Several schools for girls were started about this time under Christian auspices. An incident occurring in Niigata Prefecture shows how the desire for education had penetrated into even this, one of the most backward sections of the country. Four girls who were eager to obtain an education, resolved that they would either do this or die in the attempt. They took a solemn oath by which each promised to commit suicide unless she could induce her family to send her to school. One of them wrote a letter to the principal of an academy, and the reply fell into the hands of her parents, who severely rebuked her, saying that women did not need an education. After listening in silence to their reproofs, she went to her own room and there committed suicide. The brother of another of these girls was a student in the Tokyo Imperial University. After his graduation she begged him to take her with him to Tokyo and put her in a girls' school. He showed no sympathy with her desires, and she also took her own life. The third girl became a Christian. This led to her being so severely persecuted by her parents that she was driven into insanity. The fourth of the band, more fortunate than the others, was allowed to enter the normal school in Niigata.*

The year 1886 witnessed a renewed interest in the cause of temperance. This was aroused by lectures delivered in many cities by Mrs. Mary Clemmer Leavitt, who had come from America as the representative of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Several temperance societies were formed under Christian auspices, though in many cases persons of other faiths became members. One of the most active of these societies was

* "A Modern Paul in Japan," p. 171.

organised a year later in Sapporo. Taking the name "Hokkaido Temperance Society," it organised branches in different parts of the island of Yezo. In 1894 it had two thousand members. Most of the organisations in Japan united after a time in a National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which established its headquarters in Tokyo, where it published a paper and other literature.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, established a mission in 1886. The same year a lecture-room holding seventeen hundred persons was erected for the Young Men's Christian Association in Osaka, by means of gifts sent by friends in England, America, and Australia. Thus was supplied a need that had long been felt in that city for a large auditorium under the control of the Christians.

While most of the churches were rejoicing in great prosperity, there were in several places special manifestations of the Holy Spirit's presence. A letter describing what occurred in the Girls' School connected with the English Church Mission in Osaka says:

> "The blessing of a revival which God graciously granted to many of his servants in Japan, foreign as well as native, extended also to some of the older girls in the school, who gave proof that they had been drawn nearer to God. Emotions of envy and jealousy, deeply rooted, were mutually confessed and wept over, and pardon was sought for them in united prayer, and the girls began to love each other more sincerely and cordially."

In November, 1886, a noteworthy revival began in Sendai. The churches of different denominations had united in a series of meetings. Large audiences gathered, and many of the Christians were so impressed that they went into the fields or to the hills for prayer, it always being difficult in a Japanese house to obtain privacy. Others remained in the church until three o'clock in the morning. Some went to the houses of the pastors to confess their sins and seek help, while many made a public acknowledgment of their sins. Persons who had before shown no sympathy with revivals now acknowledged their mistake. The report of these things spread

abroad and led to the holding of similar meetings in other cities.

In view of the advance being made in the various departments of work and of the calls that were coming from all parts of the field, it is not strange to find one missionary writing: "The avalanche of opportunities that slides down upon us almost stuns us." Yet there were sections of the country where even fairly intelligent men knew nothing of the great changes that were coming upon their land. One of these persons, who lived among the mountains of Yamato, came on business to the town of Shingu in the province of Kii. In the evening he lodged at the house of a friend whom he had not seen for years. As the two sat talking together, the master of the house inquired:

"Have you ever heard anything about Christianity?"

His guest, with a frightened air, lowered his voice, and said: "Be cautious. If you talk of such things, you will surely be beheaded."

"What makes you think so?"

"Why, are you so ignorant as not to know that Christianity is strictly prohibited?"

"Can it be," said the host, "that you are unaware of the great changes that have taken place? We are now free to believe in Christianity. In this city there is a church of which I am a member, and it is constantly growing larger and larger."

"I never dreamed of such a thing. I myself am a Christian. For ten generations the religion has been handed down in our family from father to son. I supposed that the laws against it were still in force, and so I have never told others of my faith. God be praised if I am now at liberty to speak of it!"

He was instructed by his friend and a few months later became a member of the Shingu Church.

The year 1887 is to be remembered among other things for various movements having for their aim the bringing together of churches that had hitherto been separate. We have already seen how several Presbyterian churches were united in one. In a similar way the Episcopalian

churches were now brought together. The missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and of the American Episcopal Mission had already joined in the preparation of a Prayer Book and in other matters of common interest. They had also sought the approval of home churches for the formation of a united church whose doctrinal basis should be the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles. The Convention of the American Episcopal Church had in 1886 disapproved of the acceptance of the Articles. In February, 1887, the missionaries met with delegates of the churches in a synod that was thus described by Bishop Bickersteth:

"It was a freely elected body, in which Europeans and Americans were greatly outnumbered by Japanese. Of the Japanese delegates the majority were men of education. In consequence, questions were discussed on their merits, not results merely accepted on authority. The main decisions arrived at were unanimious. A Japanese Church was organised. A constitution was laid down on the basis of the Holy Scriptures, the Nicene Creed, the Sacraments, and the Three Orders. The Anglican Prayer Book and Articles were retained for present use. Regulations were made for the regular meeting of a Synod and local councils. A Japanese Missionary Society was set on foot."

The name adopted for this organisation was Nippon Sei-Ko-Kwai (Holy Catholic Church of Japan). At that time it had about thirteen hundred members.

By the passage of the following resolution, the Episcopalian missionaries expressed their desire for a more comprehensive union:

"This United Conference of Missionaries of the Church of England and of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, now assembled in Osaka, wishes to place on record the desire for the establishment in Japan of a Christian Church which, by imposing no non-essential conditions of communion, shall include as many as possible of the Christians of this country."

A committee was appointed "to enter into communication on the subject with any committee that may be

authorised to act in like manner on behalf of other Christian bodies in Japan."

Unfortunately for the success of this movement, Bishop Bickersteth, who as Chairman reported this action to the secretaries of other missions, said in his letter: "May I ask your acceptance at the same time of a copy of two sermons which I have lately published," and included these with the other document. Among other passages in the sermons, the following attracted attention, since it was naturally supposed to indicate the kind of "union" that was desired. In speaking of the Anglican communion, the Bishop said:

> "Nor can I doubt, more expecially if we are given liberty after careful thought to lay aside all that is purely national in our system and formularies, and which will not, however needful to ourselves, bear transplanting into another soil, that by degrees many noble-hearted workers for God who now stand apart from us will, with those whom under many forms they have led to Christ, find a rallying point in the only Communion which, if I judge rightly, has touch and contact with them all. The Holy Scriptures, the Creeds, the Orders of the Ministry, and the Sacraments, together with the initial rite of Confirmation, include all that seems to me essential to a Church which would abide in the teaching and fellowship of the Apostles."

The Mission of the American Board, in replying to this communication, expressed its sympathy with all desires for strengthening the bonds of union between Christians, but drew attention to the fact that it had no ecclesiastical relations with the churches that had grown up in connection with its work, and that these churches must decide for themselves about any action looking towards union with others. At the same time, it expressed its readiness to send a committee to any conference where it might be desirable to have it represented *as a mission*.

The Council of Missions Connected with the United Church of Christ in Japan (Presbyterian) replied at considerable length, asking the meaning of the resolutions, calling attention to several expressions in the Bishop's sermons, and saying that representatives of their Church could not meet those of another except upon terms of absolute ecclesiastical equality.

This letter led to an animated correspondence. Bishop Bickersteth, writing as an individual, expressed regret that he had not sent the sermons in a separate enclosure, since they were not to be taken as necessarily representing the views of the Conference. He was also grieved that umbrage had been given by his use of the word "non-conformist" in speaking of those not connected with the Episcopalian Church, and said that "in consultation, the representatives of the various missionary societies would meet on a footing of perfect equality, as being alike by virtue of their Baptism members of Christ's Church."

The Secretary of the Council, in referring to the sentence last quoted, objected that the proposed conference would then be that of a body of private Christians, not a company of ministers and laymen representing various churches. In another letter he said that a committee of the United Church would be glad to meet with the Episcopalian committee if it were understood that the episcopate was not to be taken as one of the essentials of the proposed Church, and if the conferees could meet as equals.

The replies of other missions, so far as made public, were more formal, and the whole matter was dropped.

A union of the United Church of Christ in Japan and the Kumi-ai (Congregational) Churches had often been advocated, and in order to have a conference between the two bodies it was decided that in May, 1887, each should hold its annual meeting in Tokyo. At these meetings a joint committee was appointed which drew up a general plan embodying a basis of union. This having been approved by each side, a larger committee was entrusted with the duty of preparing standards of doctrine and government, which should be submitted to the churches at least six months before special meetings of each body that should be convened for their consideration. In May, 1888, it issued a report that included the draft of a constitution and by-laws. During the six months now available for the consideration of the plan, it became evident that, save for the strong objections of two Japanese ministers who considered that important

doctrines were not sufficiently safeguarded, the work of the committee was regarded with favour by the United Church. Among the Kumi-ai Churches, however, adverse criticism soon began to be heard. They were unaccustomed to such minute rules and feared that the liberty of the local churches would be lost. While most of the missionaries of the American Board were in favour of the proposed union, two of their number issued pamphlets in which they drew attention to what they considered objectionable in the plan. Protests against it appeared in two American religious journals, and the Associations of the Congregational Churches of California and Nebraska passed votes in which it was suggested that, in case the union took place, the American Board might well withdraw financial aid. A number of young men in Tokyo became active opponents of the proposed scheme of government. Accordingly, when the meetings were held in November, the United Church had but three or four changes to suggest in the plan of the committee; while the Kumai-ai Churches hesitated about taking any action. Several churches declined to send delegates, saying that more time was needed for deliberation. Others sent representatives who were to hear and report what was said, but were not empowered to vote on the main question. Several days were spent in discussion, and it was decided to postpone action until the annual meeting in May, 1889. A committee was appointed to receive from the churches proposals of amendment and to confer with the committee of the United Church concerning revision.

As described by one who favoured its adoption, the revised constitution finally prepared did "not so much change the character of the basis of union as make its real meaning and nature plain and tend towards brevity." The Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Articles of the Evangelical Alliance were to be the standards of doctrine. The Westminster Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Plymouth Declaration were "to be held in veneration," since "they have served a high purpose in the past, and are still to be regarded as of lasting value for the instruction and edification of believers."

Local churches could adopt such forms of internal organisation as they deemed advisable. Certain powers, however, were to be delegated to two bodies, called *Bukwai* and *Sokwai*. The former were local associations made up of a pastor and delegate from each church within their respective bounds. They would license preachers; ordain, retire, and discipline ministers; install and release pastors at the request of churches; organise or aid in organising churches; afford counsel and aid to those within their bounds; appoint representatives to the *Sokwai;* and decide cases of discipline referred to them by the churches. The *Sokwai,* an annual meeting of representatives from the *Bukwai,* was to receive and impart information concerning the work of the Church; to recommend such measures as it deemed expedient; to organise *Bukwai;* and to decide cases of discipline referred to it by them.

Though there had been some adverse criticism, it was the general expectation when the annual meetings opened in May, 1889, that both bodies would vote in favour of union; and it seems probable that, had the two meetings been in the same city so as to afford opportunities for consultation, some ground of agreement would have been found. The United Church, which met in Tokyo, desired only a few minor changes in the revised constitution; the Kumi-ai Churches, whose delegates met in Kobe, voted in favour of more radical amendments. Misunderstandings arose that might perhaps have been removed by conference. The United Church did, indeed, send a committee to Kobe; but owing to the failure of a telegram to reach the proper person, the Kumi-ai convention had adjourned before the committee's arrival. Though the question of union between the two bodies nominally remained open for another year, it had practically been settled in the negative.

The year 1887 saw the opening of two forms of philanthropic work—the Nurses' Training School in Kyoto, and the Orphan Asylum in Okayama. The former was established through the efforts of J. C. Berry, M.D., and from the first won the good will of the Japa-

nese people. Its graduates were not only in demand for private nursing, but were also in many cases sought for important positions in government hospitals.

The Okayama Orphanage originated in the love and devotion of Mr. Ishii Juji, a native of the province of Hyuga, whence he had gone to Okayama for the study of medicine. He there became a Roman Catholic; but study of the New Testament, combined with other influences, led him to join a Kumi-ai church. While in the medical school, in order to obtain funds for his own support and that of a friend whom he was aiding, he worked evenings as a masseur. This gave opportunities to tell his patrons about his religious belief, so that several of them were led to accept Christianity. In 1886 George Müller visited Japan. Mr. Ishii was greatly stirred by the reports that he read of Mr. Müller's addresses and by accounts of his work for orphans. Ill health interrupting his studies, he went to a small village near Okayama, where he began to practise medicine. One day in June, 1887, a beggar woman with two children came to a hut near his house and remained there over night. Mr. Ishii carried a bowl of rice to the eight-year-old boy, who immediately passed it over to a crippled sister. The woman, who had gone out to beg, soon returned, and in reply to questions said that, though she could support herself and the girl, she could not earn enough for all three. Mr. Ishii at once offered to adopt the boy. The woman, after some hesitation, gave her consent. Mr. Ishii soon returned to Okayama, and there in September he rented an old Buddhist temple into which he moved with his family, the child above mentioned, and two other boys whom he had picked up. Though nearly at the end of his medical course, he decided to give up study and to consecrate his life to work for children. The number of those under his care rapidly increased, as did the number of friends who, on hearing of the good work, gave substantial proof of their interest in it. There were indeed seasons of trial. The asylum was "reduced at times to its last bucket of rice, but the prayer of faith has brought relief and sometimes just at the moment of dire need." Several instances are narrated that bear a close

resemblance to those that Mr. Müller tells of wonderful deliverances in answer to prayer. Rev. J. H. Pettee, D.D., was almost from the first Mr. Ishii's counsellor and helper in this work, as also the channel through which contributions from foreign friends helped in providing the institution with buildings and funds for other purposes. The asylum became an incentive and a model for similar institutions in other parts of Japan.

The desire of women to learn Western ways afforded opportunities for reaching them by various indirect methods. In some places the missionary ladies taught cooking. Still more common were classes for instruction in knitting and sewing. By means of these, access was gained to many that otherwise could not easily have been reached. Such quiet work gave opportunity for conversation that frequently ran in religious lines, and sometimes one of the company would be detailed to read aloud while the others plied their needles. In many places it was possible to combine Bible study with these gatherings.

The call for teachers of English in public and private schools opened another means of influence. A committee connected with the Young Men's Christian Association was formed in New York, that sent out young men who were willing to spend three years in Japan. It was made known that these persons were open for engagement in schools where teachers of good education and upright characters were desired. Though they could say nothing in the public schools about religion, they did much to allay prejudice; and outside of school hours they gave Biblical instruction to those desiring it. Some of them became so much interested in the country that they ultimately entered the ranks of the missionaries.

The way in which high hopes were sometimes succeeded by disappointment was exemplified in Oyamada, a farming village in the province of Chikugo. It was defeated in a lawsuit that it had with another village concerning the division of land. The costs were so great that the inhabitants were heavily burdened with debt. By various devices they sought to gain help from their deities.

Many of them on cold winter nights went without clothing to worship at a certain shrine and to bathe in icy waters. All their prayers were in vain. Then it was reported to them that Christian missionaries would be willing to pay a considerable sum to any person that would become a believer. About four hundred decided to take this method of retrieving their fortunes. When they learned that the report was incorrect, many of them relinquished all thought of becoming Christians. Others had become so dissatisfied with their former religion that they were still resolved to make a change. The people of a neighbouring village urged them not to give up their ancestral faith, and even proposed to use force in order to hold them back. Buddhist and Shinto priests, and also the prefectural governor, expostulated with them in vain. The villagers threw away or burned their idols and removed their own names from the records of the temples. Two men were sent to Nagasaki bearing a petition in which the heads of twenty-six families asked that some one be sent to teach them Christianity. On reaching the city, they began to make enquiries where they could find a missionary. A crafty fellow whom they met told them that if they would give him thirty *yen* with which to prepare a feast he would bring a missionary and intercede in their behalf. The money was paid to the man, who went to a Bible-store and told the one in charge of it that two persons desired to meet a missionary. The Bible-seller took them to Rev. A. B. Hutchinson of the Church Missionary Society. He sent a catechist to instruct the people, and when he himself visited the village several months later, he baptised seventy adults. The next year ninety-five adults and fifty-eight children were baptised. For some time Oyamada seemed "one of the brightest spots in Japan;" but, unfortunately, a few years later many of the people yielded to the strenuous efforts that were made to lead them back to their old beliefs. Several consented to sign a paper promising to give up the outward observance of Christianity on condition that certain wealthy men of the province would present the village with ten thousand *yen*.

It was in part owing to the suggestions of Japanese who, while abroad, had come in contact with Unitarianism, that the American Unitarian Association decided to send Rev. A. M. Knapp to Japan as a representative of its faith. Reaching Japan in 1887, he preferred not to be called a missionary but an envoy or ambassador that had come to "express the sympathy of the Unitarians of America for progressive religious movements in Japan, and give all necessary information to the leaders of religious thought and action in that country." He said:

"The errand of Unitarianism in Japan is based upon the now familiar idea of the 'sympathy of religions.' With the conviction that we are messengers of distinctive and valuable truths which have not here been emphasised, and that in return there is much in your faith and life which to our harm we have not emphasised, receive us not as theological propagandists but as messengers of the new gospel of human brotherhood in the religious life of mankind."

What has already been said of the views expressed by Mr. Fukuzawa and other writers shows that many persons were prepared to regard with favour a form of Christianity that minimised supernatural elements. Even some of the Buddhists joined in the welcome, though one reason for this may be found in the remark of a catechism published by the Shin sect: 'Unitarianism will not be productive of any positive benefit; but as it will be negatively useful in neutralising the evil effects of Christianity, we approve the spread of that religion for the sake of the country—nay, for the sake of our Shin sect." Mr. Knapp by interviews with influential men, by lectures, and by the use of the press, vigorously propagated his views. He was severely critical of the work and methods of other missionaries; so much so that a member of the liberal German Evangelical Protestant Mission, who to a considerable extent was in sympathy with Unitarian doctrines, wrote:

"I do not understand how it is that the representative of the American Unitarians, who has been residing in Tokyo for a year, takes an attitude apparently more friendly to Buddhists than to

Christians. . . . I, too, had a time at my study-table at home when I thought that a fundamental change of methods of missions was desirable. But now I do not hesitate to confess that I do not know how missions in Japan, in particular Protestant missions, could labour more wisely or more in accordance with their aim."

Mr. Knapp himself was very much elated at the promising opening of his work. Returning in 1889 to America to report progress, he said at the annual meeting of the Unitarian Association that its messenger might "fairly claim that his work in its results during the past year has exceeded a hundred-fold the average of the orthodox worker." This success, however, did not consist in making converts, a work that he disclaimed any desire to undertake, but in the fact that "one in a thousand of the Japanese had heard that there is such a thing as Unitarianism, and one in one hundred thousand understands what it is, and is more or less interested in its success." Mr. Knapp soon went again to Japan, this time accompanied by Rev. Clay MacCauley, D.D., as a colleague, and by three teachers who had been appointed to positions in Mr. Fukuzawa's school. Though these teachers disclaimed any connection with the Unitarian Mission, they sympathised with its work, and in various ways gave it their aid. In 1890 a Unitarian church was established in Tokyo, and the publication of a monthly magazine begun. The impression the movement made upon the Japanese is shown by an article written for the *Unitarian Review* of Boston, by Mr. Kishimoto Nobuta, a Kumi-ai Christian of liberal tendencies. He wrote:

"The first impression we have received is that Unitarianism has a strong sectarian spirit. This we anticipated to some extent; and this anticipation has been confirmed by the strange choice of a challenging title, *The Unitarian*, for its organ-magazine, and by the hostile attitude which articles contained in this magazine show towards the other sects of Christianity. The second impression is that Unitarianism is a philosophy rather than a religion. *The Unitarian* declares that Unitarianism is a positive religion; but among its advocates are found either those who are indifferent towards any religion or those purely agnostic or atheistic. Among them some of the noted Buddhist monks

are also found. Strange to say, the Unitarianism of Japan shows a strong sympathy towards Buddhism, while it shows a strong hostile feeling towards its brother sects of Christianity. These facts have led our people to conclude that Unitarianism (at least, the Unitarianism of Japan,) cannot be a religion and that, if it can be a religion, it will be a religion of philosophers."

To this article the editor appended a note, saying of a prominent Unitarian clergyman:

"Mr. Williams, who has recently returned from a visit to Japan, writes us that Unitarianism *is* hostile to Orthodox theology, and that this has given our Japanese brother a false impression; that it sympathises with Buddhism no more than with Confucianism. But, as its policy is to recognise spiritual truth in all these religions, and to meet their adherents in a spirit of courtesy and free inquiry, this attitude has been naturally misunderstood by those to whom such a policy implies a distrust of Christianity."

Near the close of 1890, Mr. Knapp, on account of poor health, left Japan. The next year a school for teaching liberal theology grew out of courses of lectures on religious, ethical, and social topics. Gradually the teachers employed in Mr. Fukuzawa's school and others who had come out to the Mission withdrew, so that Dr. MacCauley was left alone.

As early as 1867 a company of several hundred Japanese had gone to Hawaii, where they found employment on sugar planations. When the Imperial Government was established in power, it for a long time did not favour the emigration of its subjects; but in 1885 a treaty negotiated with Hawaii opened the way by which some thousands, mostly from the farming class, went thither to labour for terms of three or six years. The interest of the Christian people in Hawaii was aroused in these immigrants, and Dr. Hyde, a missionary of the American Board, established meetings for their benefit. Near the close of 1887 Mr. Miyama, an evangelist connected with the Methodist Episcopal Mission to the Japanese and Chinese in San Francisco, visited the islands. The immigrants gladly received one that could speak to them in their own language. Sunday schools

and other Christian services were established, and ere long a Japanese Young Men's Christian Association was organised. At this time the Japanese Consul was Mr. Ando Taro, a man deeply interested in the welfare of his countrymen. He had been much troubled by the amount of vice that prevailed among them. Though he had tried to work a reform by issuing notifications and in other ways, the condition of these people seemed to be growing worse. He saw with interest the good work accomplished by Mr. Miyama, of which he afterwards wrote:

"Gamblers threw away their dice, drunkards began to break their glasses, ruffians became gentle, and as a consequence the business of the Consul's office experienced a great falling off. Even such an obstinate anti-Christian as I could not help being taken with surprise. I thought for the first time that Christianity must be good, at least for igrorant people, if it is so influential as this."

Further study led Mr. Ando to a personal belief in Christ. The account of his religious experience was afterwards published in Japan as a tract, which was widely circulated and accomplished much good. In July, 1888, he with nine others was baptised and joined in a celebration of the Lord's Supper when Japanese, Americans, Hawaiians, Chinese, and Gilbert Islanders united in remembering the dying love of their one Master. An arrangement was made by which the Methodists co-operated with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association for continuing the work. They afterwards withdrew, but in 1894 again sent a preacher to Honolulu. The same year Rev. and Mrs. O. H. Gulick, who for twenty-two years had been connected with the American Board's Mission in Japan, removed to Honolulu. They had been born in Hawaii, where their parents had been missionaries; and hence they were well fitted to take charge of the work that the Evangelical Association was conducting among the Japanese. Because of the beneficial effect upon the labourers the managers of many plantations were glad to pay the money needed for the support of evangelists procured from Japan. In 1903 Rev.

Doremus Scudder, D.D., who had at one time been a missionary of the American Board in Japan, went to Hawaii as superintendent of this work. In 1907 his place was taken by Rev. Frank S. Scudder. The Methodist Episcopal Church also sent American workers there to labour among the Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans.

In 1888 the Christian schools of Japan were at the height of their prosperity. For example, the Doshisha had in its Theological Department 80 pupils; in the Academic Department, 410; in the Preparatory Department, 208; and in the Girls' School, 180. One teacher wrote: "We should be quite overwhelmed with students if we had not made a strict resolution not to admit another student into the new class this year."

In the spring this school was visited by Count Inoue, who had just resigned the post of Foreign Minister. In an address to the students he expressed his approval of it as an institution that aimed "at the promotion of moral and intellectual culture equally and simultaneously." "We have made," he added, "progress in scientific knowledge. We may even hope to attain in this to a level with the Occident. How, then, can we rest satisfied with ethical systems adapted only to Oriental standards?" Though too much must not be made of complimentary speeches, the mere fact of the appearance of such a person at a Christian school showed a change in public sentiment. A few months later, the Doshisha was visited by the Head of the Household Department.

There was more substantial proof of the interest that influential men were taking in these schools. In November, 1888, there appeared in twenty of the leading journals of Japan a plea by Mr. Neesima for funds by which the Doshisha should be made a university. It began by telling how in his youth he had gone to America and obtained an education, of the desire he had imbibed to give his own people such opportunities as existed there, of the way in which he had been enabled to open the schools in Kyoto, and of his belief that the time had come for establishing a university. He had already been encouraged by contributions of one thou-

Den son University Library

sand *yen* each from Counts Okuma and Inoue, five hundred *yen* from Count Aoki, and sums varying from two thousand to six thousand *yen* from eight business men. Counts Ito and Katsu, and Viscount Enomoto had promised aid, as had also friends in America. The document abounded in references to Christianity. It said:

"To express our hopes in brief, we seek to send out into the world not only men versed in literature and science, but young men of strong and noble character by which they can use their learning for the good of their fellowmen. This, we are convinced, can never be accomplished by abstract, speculative teaching, nor by strict and complicated rules, but only by Christian principles—the living and powerful principles of Christianity—and therefore we adopt these principles as the unchangeable foundation of our educational work, and devote our energies to their realisation."

To this new enterprise Mr. Neesima now gave all his strength, alas! too much enfeebled for such a great undertaking. Not only did he receive money and promises from individuals, but the Prefectural Assembly of Nagoya promised one thousand *yen,* and it seemed probable that some other prefectures, desiring a university in that part of Japan, might follow this example. Hon. J. N. Harris of New London, Connecticut, gave $100,000 gold for the establishment of a scientific department. Useless though such meditations may be, one cannot always refrain from thinking of history as it might have been written had not certain events occurred. Had Mr. Neesima's life been spared and had the reaction against Western ideas been postponed for a few years, it seems probable that there would have been established in Kyoto a strong Christian university whose influence would have greatly affected the educational and religious development of Japan.

Christian students were to be found in other than Christian schools. A graduate of the Doshisha, who was continuing his studies in the First Higher Middle School in Tokyo, conceived the plan of having a Young Men's Christian Association to bind together the believers that were in that school, the Imperial University, and the High Commercial School. It was feared that their number was hardly sufficient to make the organisa-

tion practicable; but to the surprise of those who called a meeting to consider the subject, there was an attendance of thirty young men, who earnestly expressed the belief that some sort of union would greatly help them in the Christian life. Instead of one association as had been proposed, three allied societies, one for each school, were formed, and thus a movement began that afterwards grew into an extensive work for students in public and private schools.

Another movement in connection with education may find mention in this place. Beginning with 1876, several kindergartens had been opened in connection with the public schools of Japan. To missionaries acquainted with Froebel's ideas, these institutions, where religious teaching and influence were excluded, seemed very imperfect. It also seemed to them that Christian kindergartens might be effective instruments for exerting a helpful influence upon children and upon the families to which they belonged. The Presbyterian Mission had opened one in Tokyo sometime previous to 1887. In that year Miss Annie L. Howe, an enthusiastic advocate of the system, was sent to the Mission of the American Board that she might open a school in Kobe for the training of kindergartners. In 1888 she gave instruction to a few pupils and thus laid the foundations of what soon became a flourishing training-school. The same year she was invited to give lectures on kindergarten methods to the students of the High Normal School in Tokyo. These were printed for the use of teachers in the government kindergartens. The Christian women of Kobe raised money for the establishment of a kindergarten where their own children might be educated, and this gave those being trained as teachers an opportunity for practical instruction. The graduates from the training-school were soon in great demand, not only for Christian kindergartens, but also for those established by the government.

In sad contrast with the kindergartens where laughing, innocent children engage in happy games and pleasant occupations are the prisons with their bars and locks, and with the clanking chains that fetter the

movements of the gloomy inmates. Yet Christianity seeks everywhere its opportunities to help men, and He who took the children in His arms to bless them said that a part of His mission was to preach deliverance to captives. We have already seen how at times Japanese prisons had proved fertile fields for Christian effort, and some further incidents may here be related.

The Kumi-ai Church in Matsuyama on the island of Shikoku had obtained permission to have some one go every noon to the local prisons and preach to any that cared to listen. Usually about fifty persons attended these services. On rainy days the evangelists would enter the rooms of the prison to explain the Bible to those that desired it. This teaching was made more effective by the change in the conduct of the chief warden, who had been led by a missionary lady to accept Christ as his Saviour. Whereas he had formerly been very severe in his treatment of the prisoners, he now became forbearing and kind. In 1888 a man that had been convicted of murdering three persons was in prison awaiting the day set for his execution. He was led by the evangelist to repentance and a belief in Christ. On the fatal day he was brought to the place of execution, where his eyes were bandaged and the official sentence of condemnation was read to him. He was then asked whether there was any article of food or drink that he would like to receive as a last favour before suffering the penalty of the law. The man replied that he would soon be beyond thoughts of hunger and thirst, and so he would be glad to have the cost of the promised gift spent in buying some delicacy for any of the prisoners that might be ill. Then, having received permission to pray, he did so in the following words, as they were reported by one of the officials:

"Heavenly Father, I have been a great sinner and must now die for my crimes; but while I was in prison Thou didst greatly bless me by opening my heart, baptising me with the Gospel of Jesus, and filling my soul with joy and peace through the atonement that He made on the cross. At this time of suffering the penalty of death, Thou hast given me hope and everlasting peace.

O Father, now I go to Thee. Receive my soul. I beseech Thee, O Father, have mercy on my mother and my sister. I beseech Thee to lead them to believe in Thee. As Thou hast saved me, I beseech Thee to save all these my brother and sister prisoners who are in this jail."

Rising from his knees, he made a few last requests to the warden. The principal one was: "Please see that my aged mother and my young sister soon learn to know the truth as it is in Jesus, and become believers. Please say to them that this is my dying wish and legacy." The man's evident sincerity made a deep impression on all the officers that were present.

Not all prisoners are hardened criminals. In December, 1887, a number of persons had gone to Tokyo in order to petition the Government in behalf of certain political reforms. The Government issued "Regulations for the Preservation of the Public Peace," and commanded the leading petitioners to leave the city. Some of them thought it their duty to protest against what they considered a tyrannical order by disobeying it. They were arrested and sent to prison. Some of these were men that afterwards occupied high official positions. Among them was Mr. Kataoka Kenkichi, a Christian, who a few years later became Chairman of the National House of Representatives. Another Christian has written an interesting account of his own experiences at this time. When arrested, he had taken his Bible, but was told that the rules prohibited prisoners from bringing anything with them. Saying that he was a Christian and therefore felt the need of a Bible, he asked permission to petition for one; but the keeper refused to forward his request to the higher authorities. Afterwards it was learned that the Department of Home Affairs had refused to let the Christians have Bibles. At a later date this restriction was removed, and the writer feelingly describes the great joy with which he spent the moments of leisure from menial and distasteful tasks in perusing the sacred pages. He also says:

"After we were permitted to have the Bible and other religious books, many of the prisoners who were not believers began to

read them. As many as five hundred of them read more or less, some of them became earnest Christians and gave us great joy. Several of these, as they went out to labour or to become nurses in the hospital, became the means of spreading the story of God's love among other prisoners, and some were converted. Thus we were not imprisoned in vain. It was the will of God that we should receive training in a practical school of theology."

A still more noteworthy event in connection with prisons was the appointment of men as teachers of morality; or, since Christians were deliberately chosen and were expected to use Christian methods and motives, they might be called chaplains. In the northern island of Yezo large prisons had been established to which were sent criminals from all parts of Japan who were under sentence of twelve years or more. The newly appointed warden of one of those prisons, a man who was earnest in seeking the welfare of those under his charge, was convinced that they could be most helped through some one imbued with the principles of Christianity. Hence he secured the services of Mr. Hara Taneaki as instructor in morals. A little later, Rev. Tomeoka Kosuke was given a similar position in another prison. Both of these men have since become widely known for what they have done to help prisoners, discharged convicts, and wayward youths. At one time, all five of the prisons for long-sentence criminals had such chaplains. In addition to the ethical instruction given to all the inmates, they taught Christianity to those who desired to learn about it, were ever ready to give helpful counsel to those that sought personal interviews, and in other ways exerted an influence that proved the means of fitting many to lead upright lives after their terms of imprisonment were over. This good work continued until in 1895 a new superintendent of the prisons imposed restrictions that led to the withdrawal of the chaplains.

The period of rapid development may be considered as closing with the year 1888. The check was not so

* *Japan Evangelist*, June and August, 1896.

such enterprises. The truth was, whether the Japanese knew it or not, that these dignitaries had yielded to the entreaties of the heads of the three orders in the Philippines "under the condition that the departure should take place in the greatest secrecy." In Macao, the officials were more earnest to keep their commerce from being ruined by the zeal of the missionaries, and this was so well recognised that many Fathers went from there to the Philippines, where they thought the chances for reaching Japan were better.

Further orders of the Shogun declared that any foreign ship coming to Japan must register the names of its crew and passengers. The officers of the ship were to be held responsible for all persons on board. Not only missionaries, but also those that brought them to Japan, were to be burned; the ship and its merchandise to be confiscated.

Date Masamune now began to take a prominent place among the persecuting daimyos. His subordinates were told to make out a list of the Christians. Many of these were imprisoned and some were put to death. Among those arrested was Father Diego de Carvalho, a Jesuit. In February, 1624, he and his companions were led to the bank of a river, stripped of their clothing, and bound to stakes that were placed in a pool of icy-cold water. They were kept there for three hours and then left to sit or lie upon the frozen ground. Two of the Christians soon died, and their bodies, after being cut into small pieces, were thrown into the river. The others were taken back to prison, only to be led forth four days later to the same pool. They were made alternately to stand in the water, which reached to their knees, and to kneel down in it. A cold wind was blowing and ere long a snowstorm set in. As evening approached, the surface of the pool began to freeze over. One by one the sufferers became insensible. Father Carvalho was the last to die. Their bodies were treated as those of their companions had been, though the Christians managed to get possession of the heads of five of the martyrs, including that of Father Carvalho.

In that section of the country known as Dewa, in the

northwestern part of Hondo, one hundred and nine Christians were put to death. Other parts of the country added to the number of the martyrs. Three foreign priests who had been confined in Omura were burned at the stake in August, 1624. One of them was Sotelo, Date's former ambassador.

In 1625 there were still in Japan twenty Jesuit Fathers and four Brothers, besides some members of other orders. Nagasaki was regarded as the safest place in the country. Two of the four Sub-prefects were Christians, as were many of the citizens. There were, however, many defections, and those that remained faithful were subjected to much annoyance. Hasegawa Gonroku ordered that none of the Christians should be allowed to travel by land or sea more than a league from the city. It is evident that this must have caused much hardship to those engaged in trade. When foreign ships came, the citizens were to have no direct communication with them. The persons and goods of all strangers entering the city were to be searched so as to make sure that no Christian books, rosaries, or medals were brought. Portuguese merchants were permitted to lodge only in the houses of non-Christians.

The next year (1626) Hasegawa was replaced by Mizuno Kawachi no Kami. While the former had taken little pleasure in the persecutions that his office compelled him to superintend, his successor was a bitter opponent of Christianity. Almost immediately after his arrival, three foreign priests and six Japanese Christians were burned. Thirteen stakes had been erected, but at the last moment four Portuguese who had been arrested purchased their lives by the denial of their faith. A few days afterwards nine Japanese, who had given the missionaries shelter, were executed.

Near the close of 1626, when Portuguese and Chinese ships came as usual to Nagasaki, the Christians were not allowed to lodge the merchants, to trade with them, to become their servants, or even to converse with them. The Portuguese merchants themselves were treated with much insolence. Their chests were searched, their papers read, and their religious medals thrown into the

sea. Two vessels that came from the Philippines were immediately turned back.

Mizuno, who held his office for three years, did his best in that time to exterminate the religion he so hated. Christian artisans were not permitted to ply their trades. Many new forms of torture were introduced. In this, however, Mizuno's powers of invention were not equal to those of Matsukura, the new Lord of Arima. In the latter's territories Christians were made to kneel on hot coals, were suspended by different parts of the body to trees, were branded on cheeks and forehead with the three ideographs that were pronounced *Kirishitan* (Christian), or were plunged into the sea until nearly drowned, when they were drawn out only to have the operation repeated at short intervals. But what was regarded as the most terrible of all torments was to plunge the victim again and again into the sulphur springs of Onsen, whose corrosive waters gave rise to horrible sores. The frightful sounds, the heat, the sulphurous vapours, and the dismal surroundings of these springs have led to their being named "Jigoku," the Buddhist word for Hell. One spring has a temperature of over 200° Fahr.

The missionaries that were in hiding suffered many privations. A letter written in 1626 by Father Couros, says:

"The Christians that had me under their care lost courage and earnestly urged me to take ship at once and hasten to secure my safety. In order to calm them I promised to depart the following night. Meanwhile my host, unknown to the others, had arranged a pit or subterranean cavity twelve palms long by four broad. Neither the rays of the sun nor any other light entered it. That night I, together with my catechist and a servant, crept into it without the knowledge of any person except our host. The nights and days passed by in darkness. The only light I obtained was a little for eating, for reciting the divine office, and for writing certain letters connected with my ministry. Food was passed to us through a concealed opening that was reached by pulling away the straw in an adjoining hut where an old man was at work, and this was opened only for so long a time as was necessary for introducing the food. Every three days the door of the pit was opened for the removal of ordure. The food was very scanty and very poor, for our host feared to make purchases lest he should excite suspicion. I remained thirty-five days in this

VII

THE PERIOD OF RETARDED GROWTH

1889-1900

JAPAN is a country of sudden changes. The bright prospects that gave rise to the hope that the country would be speedily evangelised were soon clouded over. Missionaries are usually optimists, and it seemed to most of them that the storm would quickly pass and the sun would then shine out as brightly as before. In the correspondence of the period now to be reviewed the hopes of the writers frequently find expression in such words as, "The worst is over," "The reaction has spent its force," "Things are looking brighter than they have for a long time," etc. Yet a full decade must pass ere there would be any very marked improvement, and even then the rate of apparent progress would be much slower than it had been before the reaction set in.

The reasons for the retardation in the advance of Christianity were numerous. Among them much prominence must be given to a great reaction against the acceptance of Western civilisation. The *Japan Mail* of April 27, 1889, writing of the way this had arisen said:

"The fall of 1887 found the nation beginning to be pervaded by the apprehension that it had travelled too rapidly; that it was in danger of losing individuality altogether; and that the way to compete with foreign countries was not to follow in their wake by copying their example, but rather to strengthen and develop the faculties that belong especially to the genius of the country. This conviction has now passed into the cry of the day. Under the name of *Kokusui Hozon* (Preservation of the National Excellencies) it is recognised as the guiding principle, the first duty of the present generation. It is talked of, written about, and even embodied in song. It inspires the lectures that are delivered

before scientific and political associations, and it manifests its influence in a thousand directions of every-day life. Even Buddhism has taken advantage of it, and endeavoured to rekindle the embers of a faint faith by connecting the dignity of the throne with the permanence of Shaka's doctrine."

The movement of the Buddhists took shape in the establishment of the *Sonno Hobutsu Dai Dodan* (Great Association for Honouring the Emperor and Preserving Buddhism). The prospectus of this society as translated by the *Japan Mail* said:

"This Association is formed for the purpose of maintaining the majesty of our Emperor and the truth of the doctrine of Buddha—a union of all those who wish to protect our land and religion from the contempt of the foreigner. Those who unite with us are expected to avoid everything that would lessen the honour and reverence due to His Imperial Majesty or the influence of the Buddhist doctrine. For instance, in selecting our representatives to the national parliament, to provincial assemblies, to town councils, or local offices, in the distribution of all honours, in appointing school-teachers, officials of societies and business companies, etc., we pledge ourselves carefully to exclude all who are disloyal to our Emperor or untrue to Buddhism by believing in the foreign religion called Christianity. If these points are kept well in mind and carried into practice, we, thirty-nine million of brethren united into one, will so protect our country that, although many a difficulty and many an internal social and political problem may arise, still our Emperor's position shall stand secure and the doctrine of Buddha shall remain unshaken. Yes, if we but stand together on this solid foundation of truth, the result will be that no foreign land will point at us with the finger of scorn. Now, brothers, if you can see the truth as here stated, do not hesitate to come up and join our band. Give us your hand; we shall then all stand together and add to the strength and life of our *Yamato-damashii* (Spirit of Old Japan)."

Important political events excited the minds of the people and made it harder to gain their attention for the consideration of Christianity. February 11, 1889, the new Constitution was promulgated. The conflict of new and old ideas was exemplified the same day by the assassination of Viscount Mori, the Minister of Education, because of an act of irreverence that he was alleged to have committed some time before by lifting with his walking-stick the curtain that hung before the holy

place in the great Shinto shrine at Ise. In the autumn of the same year great excitement arose over the question of treaty revision. The treaty with America negotiated in 1858 by Townsend Harris, and those with other nations modelled upon it, provided for a system of extra-territoriality by which, if a citizen of one of the treaty powers committed a crime or was defendant in a civil suit, he was tried in the consular court of his own nation. Also the amount of duty that could be levied on imports was limited. Mr. Harris, who desired to treat the Japanese in the most friendly way possible, and who hoped that after a few years such restrictions could safely be modified if not wholly removed inserted in his treaty an article providing that a revision "may be made" after July, 1872, if desired by either party. The wording was unfortunate, and at last it became practically necessary to get all the treaty powers to unite in assenting to a change before it could be made. The United States did indeed, at one time prepare a new treaty, but the Japanese Government, fearing the threat of other nations that under the "most favoured nation" clauses they would claim for themselves all the benefits granted even conditionally to another, insisted, contrary to the wish of the American Minister, on having an article inserted by which the agreement should come into force only when all the other powers had made similar treaties, and this proviso made the whole document worthless. For a long time there had been increasing irritation against Western nations for their unwillingness to yield to Japan's desires for control over her customs and the removal of extra-territoriality. In 1889, however, it was announced that treaties with all the nations were on the point of being ratified. They provided that for a few years to come foreign judges should sit with the Japanese upon the bench when cases concerning foreigners were to be tried. At once the ultra-patriots excited so strong opposition to a concession which they declared dishonourable that they caused the failure of the proposed plans. Dissensions in the Cabinet led to the resignation of the Minister President of State. A few days later Count Okuma, Min-

ister for Foreign Affairs, was severely wounded by a person who attempted to assassinate him for assenting to the proposed arrangements. In addition to the excitement caused by these events, the minds of the people were much occupied by the election to local offices, and by preparations for the election of members to the first National Diet, which was to meet the next year. Political meetings were frequent and to some extent usurped the place that had been held by large public meetings for the preaching of the Gospel. These political gatherings were often very noisy and sometimes became the scenes of violence. It was perhaps partly a result of the turbulent habits thus formed that in places where Christian services held in theatres were formerly attended by quiet audiences, disturbances became common. Because of the difficulty of securing respectful attention, these mass meetings were less frequently held by the Christians.

Some of the causes of the lull in Christian work were in the Church itself. The early fervour had to some extent passed away. Whereas all of the Christians had once felt the responsibility for telling others about their new faith, and had been earnest in leading their friends to accept it, they were now inclined to leave the work of propagation almost entirely to the pastors and evangelists. In the days of rapid growth many persons had come into the churches who were far from being permeated with the spirit of Christ. Christianity was the religion of the West, and in their enthusiasm for Western civilisation they had taken the religion as one part of it; now, when seized by the wave of reaction, they wished to put away Christianity with other things that seemed opposed to the spirit of old Japan. It is easy now to say that more care should have been taken before admitting such persons to the churches; yet it is doubtful whether these are the persons whom more stringent rules would have excluded. The words with which they described their experiences and the earnestness that they displayed, seemed equal to what was found in others. In most cases there was no intentional deception on their part. To themselves as

to others they seemed to be followers of Christ. Some that dropped out of the churches had been disappointed at the results of Christianity. It had seemed to them that its pure doctrines and exalted morality must speedily command the assent of all to whom it was made known, and that therefore, by its beneficent influence, the country would soon be purified from evil, and attain the exalted condition that they imagined had already been reached by Christian lands in the West. They found that the victory was not so easily gained. They saw some of the Christians fall into sin; they experienced the power of temptation in their own lives; they learned more and more of the terrible evils that still exist in so-called Christian lands; and they were led to doubt whether Christianity was indeed a great power for national and individual salvation.

The ultra-nationalistic spirit affected many of the prominent Christians. They wished to disprove the reiterated charge that they were the slaves of the foreigners. The desire to show their independence often led them to oppose the beliefs and the advice of the missionaries, which otherwise they might have accepted. It became the fashion among those who went to America or England to pay special attention to the defects of those countries. Their letters from these lands and their addresses after returning, told of evils that had convinced them that these countries were not superior to their own.

Theological speculations absorbed much energy, and in many cases were chilling to the faith. These were to some extent introduced by the "liberal" missions, but more through books and magazines coming from the West. These were eagerly read by many of the leading preachers, whose minds were naturally inclined to favour whatever was new. Here, too, the desire to show their independence inclined some of them to discard what they had received from their former teachers. While they imagined that their conclusions were reached by their own thinking, it was easy to trace the source of their views to opinions that were then being advocated in the West. Many of those that went abroad, even when supported by help gained through the mediation

of missionaries, took more interest in seeking interviews with noted advocates of new opinions than in pursuing their studies in the schools to which they had been sent. It was felt that young men hardly showed that they had received any advantage from going so far for study if they returned with the same views that they had when setting out. When they came back to Japan, their friends asked them what new things they had learned. They must at least tell the theories they had heard, and in explaining these they frequently became, almost before they knew it, advocates of the views that at first they intended only to describe. As the narrative proceeds we shall see how, in these and other ways, divisive doctrines gained currency, the faith of many church-members was chilled, and there were defections among those who had been prominent preachers. Many of the less educated members of the Church, while understanding little of the questions under discussion, were stunned by the defection of their pastors, or by being told that much of what they had formerly been taught was false. The effects that intellectual wanderings have upon the spiritual and moral life are more marked in a country like Japan than in those where early education and a helpful environment may "hold men's hearts right after their heads go wrong."

While the exaggerated nationalism of that time led to a higher appreciation of what was distinctively Japanese, the people had gone so far in accepting Western ideas that they could not wholly give them up. Hence, much was said about an alleged characteristic of the Japanese, namely, that while they gladly borrow what is good in foreign lands, taking now from the West as formerly they had taken from China, they always modify and improve whatever they receive. Those who loved their country, it was said, ought to insist that everything coming from abroad should be remodelled so as to become really Japanese instead of foreign. Occasionally this contention took grotesque forms, as when in reply to criticisms on blunders in the use of English on the part of some who published articles in that language, it was soberly asserted that Japanese ought not

to be bound by the grammatical rules observed in England and America, since they had the ability to produce a Japanese form of the English language that would be superior to the original. These phenomena that accompanied the awakening of national consciousness remind us of what Tourgenieff said of a similar period in Russian history: "Some young people among us have discovered even a Russian arithmetic. Two and two do indeed make four with us as well as elsewhere, but more pompously it would seem. All this is nothing but the stammering of men who are just awaking."

It was in accord with such sentiments that much began to be said about the necessity of having a "Japanese Christianity." In 1890, Mr. Yokoi, a prominent Kumi-ai minister, published an article in which he lamented that Christianity as then existing in Japan was in most cases a copy of that found in England and America. In the early experiences of the converts this could not be helped, but now they had obtained sufficient knowledge to be able to select what was suitable for themselves. The day had come for the development of a Japanese Christianity. Though in some points time and place could make no difference in the religion of Christ, in others there must be variety, and Christianity in Japan ought to exhibit some fine qualities not discernible in the older stock. Christianity in the Occident had developed on the basis laid by Greek literature and Roman jurisprudence. The Christianity about to spring up in the East must stand on the pedestal formed out of the religion of Buddhism and the Confucian philosophy. It was desirable to develop a system of theology that, in its essential characteristics should be purely Japanese, and to originate religious rites and ceremonies that should be peculiar to themselves. At first the converts had believed just what the foreigners had told them, and the early preachers, being supported by the missionaries, had refrained from expressing dissatisfaction with the teaching they received. Unless Christianity divested itself of foreign clothes and wore the Japanese dress, it would never accomplish its object. "The time has now come," he said, "for Japanese propagandists to form

their own estimate of Christ and to make it known to their fellow-countrymen. We must henceforth think independently and construct without assistance so as to build a Church of Japan." *

Probably most missionaries had recognised that Christianity in Japan must in many outward features differ from that of other countries. Dr. Eby's paper in 1884, on " The Immediate Christianisation of Japan," had said:

" What we have to do for Japan is to evangelise it, win it for Christ, and I for one care not a rush what church polity is chosen, if only the church be true to her living Head and preserve the soul of charity, the inspiration of living faith. Ecclesiastical form, philosophical statement of doctrine, etc. differ with every race. Whatever the future church of Japan may be, its Christianity will be a Christianity in Japanese mould, and any effort of ours to put the stamp of a hundred 'isms' upon it would be childish and futile."

Similar words might be quoted from other missionaries; but to say that differences must be expected to arise from national peculiarities is far different from urging that such variations be artificially stimulated for the sake of avoiding resemblance to what has been developed elsewhere.

Much began to be said about the desirability that Japanese churches should be independent of foreign dictation. Even missions that had disclaimed authority over churches were criticised as exerting control through their ability to refuse financial aid to men and work that did not meet their approval, and it was desired that funds from abroad should be put unconditionally into the hands of the Japanese. Much was said and written derogatory to the missionaries; and some preachers, especially the younger men, seemed to think that in addresses before unbelievers it would help them to win favour if they showed their independence of the foreign teachers by speaking in disparagement of them. Some of the criticisms pointed out real faults in the missionaries, others were childish; but what caused most sadness to those

* The *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 19, 1890, gives an epitome of this article, which appeared in the *Rikugo Zasshi*.

against whom they were directed was the spirit in which they were uttered, together with the injury that was done to the work by the manner in which they were made.

Some churches were much weakened by the work of the Plymouth Brethren, who came to Japan not far from the beginning of this period. It is not within the province of this history to discuss the principles or beliefs of any body of Christians, or to criticise its work; yet it is necessary to state facts, and whatever good may have been accomplished by the Plymouth Brethren, some of the results of their labours were disastrous. It is well known that there are several divisions among those calling themselves Plymouth Brethren, and some that bear the name are not to be included in the statement, which is true of most of them, that they did little to proclaim the Gospel to unbelievers, thinking it their duty to bear witness against what they regarded as the corruption of the churches, and to lead as many as possible away from them. Their efforts were sometimes only too successful. Persons who had been prominent church-members were led to withdraw. In some places churches were almost broken up; in others, where churches were on the point of being organised, this became impossible because some of the believers went over to the Plymouth Brethren. If such persons had retained their faith, the result would have been less deplorable; but many who thus gave up associating with Christians and getting the help derived from the pastors, fell into sin and unbelief.

The effect of the reactionary movements was speedily felt by the Christian schools and especially by those for the education of girls. Critics declared that the young women in these schools lost their gentle manners, becoming forward, mannish, and proud. There was considerable financial stress in the country, and many persons who had formerly sent their daughters to such schools found this to be one of the easiest points at which to economise. For these reasons the number of pupils was gradually reduced, and it was several years before interest in the education of women revived. The schools for boys had to contend against difficulties arising from the desire of the Educational Department to confine education to the

schools established by the Government. At one time the best opportunities for acquiring a modern education had been furnished by Christian institutions; but the excellent system of schools established by the Government had raised the latter to a high standard. The large sums of money furnished for the institutions of high grade gave them better material equipments than those of the Christian schools. Not only did graduates of private schools find that it was difficult for them to enter the Imperial University and other higher institutions of learning, but in other ways private schools were discouraged by the Educational Department. As has already been stated, a Christian school in Sendai was discontinued because of this opposition, and the same was true of others. Some schools that were under the control of Japanese endeavoured to retain popularity by giving up religious exercises, refusing to be known as Christian institutions, or minimising the Christian features that had before characterised them. As we proceed we shall see how even the school founded by Joseph Neesima, which had been considered by opposers the chief citadel of Christianity in Central Japan, yielded to the pressure. Many things seemed to indicate that the Educational Department had determined to oppose Christianity itself. Certain it is that Christian teachers felt their positions to be very insecure, and that the Department winked at injustice done to Christian pupils. The simultaneousness of the warnings that teachers in all parts of the country gave to children in the lower schools, telling them they ought not to attend Christian Sunday schools, is not easily explained except on the supposition that in some way it was made known that such directions were in accordance with the wishes of the educational authorities.

The Army seemed to be another centre of opposition to Christianity, though the trouble experienced may have come from the commanders of the different garrisons. Soldiers were told not to attend Christian meetings nor to have Christian books in their possession. In some places Christian officers were pressed to withdraw from the membership of churches. The new Imperial Constitution, indeed, guaranteed religious liberty, and officers

might have hesitated to inflict punishment for violation of the *quasi* orders that they gave; but privates and under-officers very well know that there were many ways in which their commanders, without any apparent violation of law, could make them suffer for having anything to do with Christianity. A great change, however, took place at the time of the war with China, as will be related in due time.

Such were some of the discouragements and difficulties of the period on which we are now entering; but as we turn to describe more in detail the course of events, we shall see that the churches still continued to grow, though at a retarded rate.

February 11, 1889, is an important date in the religious as in the political history of Japan; for in the Constitution that the Emperor then granted to his people, Article XXVIII. declares:

"Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudical to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief."

It was but a little over seventeen years since men and women had been sent into exile for their religion, and now Count Ito Hirobumi in his commentary on the Constitution that he himself had been chief in preparing, said:

"The cruel treatment of those of a heterodox faith or the exclusion of them from the enjoyment of certain portions of public and civil rights are already historical facts of the past, and now-a-days it is very seldom, if ever, that such absurdities are brought to our notice. (In the German states political rights were denied to the Jews up to the year 1846)."

It is amusing to see this turning to European history as though for the last instance of religious persecution; but the forgetfulness of what his own land had witnessed can be forgiven in view of his declaration that "Freedom of conscience concerns the inner part of man and lies beyond the sphere of interference by the laws of the State."

The year 1889 saw many missions extending their work. The reaction had not yet begun to be seriously felt. The

American Baptist Mission, which hitherto had been but feebly suported by the home board, received eleven new workers and was thus enabled to open a station in Shimonoseki besides strengthening those already established. The Baptist Southern Convention also sent out two families, whose plans concerning fields of labour were made in connection with the older mission of like faith.

The work of the Canadian Methodist Mission had reached such a stage that an annual Conference was organised. To ordained Japanese ministers and to the same number of laymen were given equal voice and vote with the missionaries in the organisation and developing of churches. Coincident with the establishment of the Conference was the inauguration of a policy that led to the opening of new stations and an enlargement of the work.

The Southern Methodist Mission in the same year founded at Kobe the Kwansei Gakuin, a school for young men, which soon came to hold a prominent place among educational institutions.

An attempt to combine the different Methodist Churches did not at this time get beyond the preparation of a "Basis of Union." The failure of the proposed plan for uniting the Presbyterian and Kumi-ai Churches has been already recorded.

An important movement among young men was begun in the spring of 1889 by Mr. L. D. Wishard, the International College Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, who visited several cities in Japan, speaking to students. He made a great impression, not only upon the pupils of Christian schools, but also on those connected with government institutions. The Christian Associations organised the previous year in three of the schools in Tokyo were greatly strengthened, and similar societies were formed elsewhere. Mr. Wishard planned and conducted a "Summer School for Bible Study," the first of a series that has continued to be held annually. The work for young men was further helped by the locating in Tokyo of Mr. J. T. Swift as the representative of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States.

Almost synchronous with Mr. Wishard's visit was that of another American—Colonel Olcott, the theosophist. He had been invited by the Buddhists, who, in alarm at the progress being made by Christianity, were ready to accept help from any source. A speech made by Mr. Nagouchi, the man through whom the invitation had been conveyed to Colonel Olcott, shows the view that many Buddhists took of the situation. After speaking of the changes that had brought to Japan railroads, electric lights, newspapers, steam presses, sewing machines, whiskey, and cigarettes, he bemoaned the fact that many who were once interested in Buddhism gave themselves now to the study of physics, photography, biology, astronomy, geology, metaphysics, materialism, and Christianity, —subjects that now formed the dominant topics of thought and conversation. Much of this sad upheaval was to be laid at the door of the missionaries, who had met the desire of people for Western knowledge by establishing schools in all parts of the land. Moreover, whereas the Emperors were formerly warm supporters of Buddhism, so that many princes and princesses entered the monasteries, the present attitude of the Government was one of indifference, and Imperial contributions to the temples were now given only for the purpose of preserving the Imperial tombs. Most of the priests were lazy, wasting their time in amusements, repeating prayers whose meaning they did not know, and by worthless lives alienating the believers. "The different Buddhist sects," he said, "must be united, and every priest must be educated. To rescue our Buddhists from the thraldom of Western vices we have thought of only one way. It is to obtain the unselfish help of Colonel Olcott, the reformer of religion. All Japanese Buddhists are now awaiting his visit, and they have named him the Bodhisattva of the Nineteenth Century."

When Colonel Olcott arrived he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Temples and houses were decorated in his honour; in the cities he visited he was met by committees of priests and leading citizens; and at first large crowds went to hear his addresses. The enthusiasm for the American Bodhisattva was short-lived. For some

reason or other the series of lectures was interrupted, and Colonel Olcott soon left the country. It was reported that he was disappointed in the Buddhists of Japan; it is certain that they were disappointed in him.

The Christian Church in Japan, and especially the Kumi-ai body, met with a great loss in the death, January 23, 1890, of Dr.* Joseph Neesima. He had been in Tokyo and vicinity trying to interest influential men in his plans for a Christian university, when severe illness led him to seek rest at the seaside resort of Oiso. There he died at the age of forty-seven. His death made a profound impression, not only on those that had been closely associated with him, but also upon many who, though having no sympathy with his religion, recognised that he had been a man of the noblest principles, who had in many ways brought great good to his country.

When his body reached Kyoto, the students of the Doshisha insisted that they alone should bear it to his former home and afterwards to the grave which they had dug with their own hands. This meant much in Japan, where such offices for the dead are left to the very lowest classes. Among the banners that according to Japanese custom were carried in the funeral procession, was one inscribed "From the Buddhists of Osaka," thus testifying to the respect in which Dr. Neesima was held by those that disagreed with him. This courteous act offset to a great extent the refusal of the priests of a temple in Kyoto to allow him to be buried beside his father in their cemetery, because he was "the very head of Christianity in Japan."

Another funeral that occurred in September of the same year attracted considerable notice. Mrs. Katsura, the wife of the Vice-Minister of War, was a member of a Kumi-ai church. At her death, the church was asked to assume charge of the funeral services. More than two thousand persons were in attendance, including one prince, three minsters of state, military officers, and foreign diplomatic officials. Owing to the smallness of the

* A few months before his death he had been given the degree of LL.D. by Amherst College, his *alma mater*.

chapel at the Aoyama Cemetery, only three or four hundred could listen to the religious exercises; but these heard an impressive sermon on the Christian's hope of immortality through Christ. The presence of such persons at a Christian service was another proof of the change that had come since the days of official persecution.

October 30, 1890, the Emperor sent forth what has ever since been known as "The Imperial Rescript on Education," a document that had a great influence on the religious history of Japan. The following is a translation issued in 1907 by the Department of Education:

"Know ye, Our subjects: Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue: Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts; and thoroughly develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

"The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

Copies of this Rescript were sent to the schools; and it became the custom for teachers and pupils to come

together on certain national holidays to listen to its reading. It is taken in the most reverential way from the box in which it is kept, slowly unrolled, and read to the members of the school, who stand with bowed heads as they listen to the august words of their Emperor. The slightest lack of decorum is looked upon as almost treasonable.

To most foreigners the esteem in which the Rescript is held will seem strange, and they may not see how it could affect the progress of Christianity. It was, however, seized upon by the reactionists, who declared that it was intended by the Emperor as a direct blow against the ethics and the religion of the West. Many commentaries upon the Rescript were written in which it was repeatedly asserted that Western nations knew little of the true principles of loyalty and filial piety, while many of the teachings of Christianity were opposed to what the Emperor had urged upon his people. To such attacks the Christians were quick to reply; insisting that they gladly assented to all that the Rescript contained, and that its teachings were in accord with their own religion. Indeed, some Christians in excess of zeal spoke of the Rescript as though it were to be put on a par with the Bible.

About this time the custom was introduced of having the pupils in the public schools bow on certain national holidays before the picture of the Emperor. So much honour was paid to the picture that instances are recorded where janitors or teachers lost their lives in trying to save it from burning buildings. It seemed as though an attempt was being made to foster the idea that the Emperor was to be considered divine. Zealous patriots were on the watch to detect any act that might savour of disrespect. On one occasion after the ceremony of bowing to the portrait had been performed, the teacher of a school said: "You may now put away His Majesty's picture." The expression was thought lacking in reverence and the teacher was dismissed. In another town an official who visited a school did not remove his shoes before entering the building. A student afterwards spoke of this as a violation of the rules of the school. The

teacher, in trying to show that all rules have exceptions, said: "Surely, if the Emperor should come, you would not expect him to leave his shoes outside." At once this was declared insulting, since the Emperor had been spoken of as though he were a mere man; and the teacher lost his position. A Christian teacher in one of the higher schools in Tokyo declared that he could not bow before the Emperor's picture, since to do so was an act of worship. At once there was a great stir throughout the whole land. The affair was discussed by all the newspapers, and by many was declared to be a proof of the disloyalty of the Christians. The latter with few exceptions met the charge by saying that they did not regard the act of bowing as worship, but as reverent salutation of a sovereign whom they all honoured. One good result of the agitation was that the Department of Education changed the word used of the ceremony so as to make it evident that no worship was involved. Public opinion, however, made it necessary for the professor that had caused the excitement to hand in his resignation. About the same time, there were a few cases where Christian teachers were dismissed, nominally for other reasons, but really, as was generally supposed, because of their religion.

The first election of members of parliament occurred in 1890. Among the candidates were several Christians, and it is not strange that their religion cost them many votes. In some places the Buddhists put forth the most strenuous efforts to prevent their election. Mr. Kataoka Kenkichi, an elder of the Kochi Presbyterian Church, was a prominent candidate. Some of his political friends came to him, saying:

"You would certainly be elected were it not for your religion, but that makes the result doubtful. We will not urge you to give up Christianity, but it will help matters if we can announce that you have resigned your office in the Church. Withdraw from the eldership, at least for the time being. After election, if you wish to resume the office, you can do so."

To this appeal Mr. Kataoka simply replied: "I will do

no such thing. I would rather be an elder in the Church than a member of parliament."

His steadfastness did not turn to his disadvantage. At this and many subsequent elections he was chosen a member of the House of Representatives, and for several sessions was its Speaker.

Similar consistency was shown by Rev. Honda Yoitsu, who, before removing to Sendai in order to become the pastor of the Methodist Church in that city, had for several years been a member of the legislature of his native prefecture. In 1890 he was urged to become a candidate for parliament and could doubtless have gained the election were it not that religious teachers were by law debarred from serving as representatives. Many of his friends urged him to withdraw from the ministry. He himself says that it was a great temptation over which he long thought and prayed, the result being that he continued in the ministry.

As a result of the elections, thirteen out of the three hundred members of the House of Representatives were Christians—nearly nine times the proportion that Christians had in the total population—a result the more noteworthy since their religion could have gained them but few votes, while it had caused them to lose many. This one fact is a sufficient refutal of the assertion that Christianity had made no progress except among the lowest and most ignorant classes. To the Buddhists of Kyoto it was a cause of great chagrin that a Christian was elected from that part of the city most under their control, where the powerful Shin sect had put forth great exertions to prevent such a humiliation. It may be further mentioned that when the first House of Representatives chose its officers, the Speaker (Nakashima Nobuyuki) and the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole (Shimada Saburo) were professing Christians.

One reason for the political preferment of the Christians was doubtless that their fellow-citizens had learned that they were upright and trustworthy men, to whom the public interests could be safely committed. Some of them had also been prominent in advocating reforms that met the approval of the people. It has been suggested

that another reason may have been that in considering various subjects that came before the churches for discussion these men had gained an experience that afterwards helped them to perform successfully their duties in the local assemblies, where most of them served an apprenticeship before being chosen for the higher position.

A movement, partly political, in which Christians had been the acknowledged leaders, was that for the abolition of licensed prostitution. In the large cities of Japan were certain quarters occupied by houses of ill-fame. These were licensed by the Government. The inmates were practically slaves; most of them having been delivered over to the masters for a term of years by their own fathers, or, in case the father was not living, by whatever person might be at the head of the family. The law required that the girl's consent should be gained; but such are the ideas of filial obedience prevailing in Japan that few girls would venture to oppose the father's will, and common opinion would condemn any who should be so daring. Those who once entered the life of shame found it almost impossible to escape, their wily masters managing to involve them in debts that bound them to continual service. It is not necessary here to enter into the arguments of those who favoured the method by which the Government attempted to regulate prostitution. Suffice it to say that the Christians started an agitation against the licensing system, endeavouring at first to get prefectural assemblies to abolish it. This agitation first attracted attention in Gumma Prefecture, where the President and several members of the assembly were Christians, and where Christianity had gained such a foothold that it exercised considerable influence over public opinion. A vote for the abolition of legalised prostitution was soon gained. The movement spread to other parts of the country. Everywhere the Christians were regarded as its natural leaders, though they were earnestly supported by others who desired the moral elevation of their country. Lectures were delivered, pamphlets were issued, and newspapers were utilised so far as these dared to disregard the threats of the powerful class

whose business was in danger. In Kyoto a Christian who led in the agitation was assaulted at the instigation of the brothel-keepers. Though rescued before receiving serious injury, the danger of other attacks was considered so serious that the police insisted on having one of their number accompany him wherever he went. In a few provinces the desired vote for abolition was obtained. The Christians felt so much encouraged over these successes that they decided to go one step further. They began to circulate petitions asking that the new parliament prohibit prefectures from giving licenses. Success did not follow this appeal. Moreover, the weakening of zeal, caused in part by the chill that came over the churches because of the reactionary movements and theological discussions of ensuing years, led to a discontinuance of the agitation. The brothel-keepers of some prefectures rallied their forces so as to secure a repeal of the vote for prohibition. In Gumma Prefecture, however, their efforts and wily schemes failed to secure the restoration of the old system.

The desire of the Buddhists to oppose Christianity led them to become in some places the allies of those engaged in pandering to lust. This was especially the case in Nagoya, a stronghold of Buddhism and also of immorality. The chapels and the houses of the missionaries were stoned. The missionaries were obliged to live with blankets and rugs hung over the windows to keep out the stones, such as had already broken the glass and shutters. When Dr. Perin, of the Universalist Mission, attempted to hold a meeting in a theatre, he narrowly escaped serious injury from the turbulent mob.

In the province of Ise, mobs broke up meetings and injured chapels, though here the disturbance was not directly connected with the movement for the abolition of licensed vice. The most serious trouble was in the town of Yamada, the seat of the great Shinto shrines. The chief business of the town is connected with the entertainment of pilgrims. Incongruous as it may appear, this place, like the vicinity of most other noted temples, whether Buddhist or Shinto, was a hot-bed of immorality; those that came nominally for worship indulging at

the same time in debauchery. Societies were organised for driving Christianity out of the place, meetings were broken up, and soon none dared to confess any interest in the hated religion.

The work of the Church Missionary Society in Tokushima (Shikoku) was hindered for a while by a "Buddhist Young Men's Club" that was the centre of an organised effort to oppose Christianity. The missionary's house was injured and believers were molested. The trials strengthened the faith of the Christians, and among the persons baptised the next year was a Buddhist priest.

Increased denominational variety was given by the coming of the mission sent by the Universalist General Convention of America. The first missionaries reached Japan in April, 1890, and under the leadership of Rev. George L. Perin soon erected a building to serve as a permanent centre for their work. A theological seminary and an English school were opened, and soon afterward a magazine was published.

Another addition to the missionary force was made in the autumn of the same year by a band of men and women under the leadership of Rev. Barclay F. Buxton, who undertook the responsibility for their maintenance. They worked under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, making Matsue, in the province of Izumo, their headquarters. Mr. Buxton was also frequently called to other parts of the country for evangelistic services among churches of different denominations. An earnest believer in certain doctrines concerning "holiness," he did much to propagate them among both Japanese and foreigners.

The missionaries connected with the Church Missionary Society enlarged their educational work in Osaka by the erection of a building for what was thenceforth known as the Bishop Poole Memorial Girls' School, and also by opening a school for boys, which in January of the next year removed to a new building on the outskirts of the city, the location giving it the name "Momoyama Gakuin."

Previous to the year 1890, the National Bible Society

of Scotland, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the American Bible Society had maintained separate agencies that for the most part worked independently. An arrangement was now made by which these agencies were combined, thus avoiding the rivalry and waste resulting from the former system. About the same time a similar arrangement united the agencies of the American Tract Society and the London Religious Tract Society, their work being put under the care of "The Tract Societies' Committee" composed of American and British missionaries.

In December, 1890, the Church of Christ in Japan (Presbyterian) held a synod in which it was decided to adopt as its Declaration of Faith the Apostles' Creed, with the following Preamble:

"The Lord Jesus Christ, whom we worship as God, the only begotten Son of God, for us men and for our salvation, was made man and suffered. He offered up a perfect sacrifice for sin; and all who are one with Him by faith are pardoned and accounted righteous; and faith in Him working by love purifies the heart.

"The Holy Ghost, who with the Father and Son is worshipped and glorified, reveals Jesus Christ to the soul; and without His grace man being dead in sin cannot enter the kingdom of God. By Him the prophets and holy men of old were inspired; and He speaking in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments is the supreme and infallible Judge in all things pertaining unto faith and living.

"From these Holy Scriptures the ancient Church of Christ drew its Confession; and we holding the faith once delivered to the saints join in that confession with praise and thanksgiving:

"I believe in the Father Almighty, etc."

The Council of Missions working in connection with the above church issued the following statement of the views that had led the Synod to adopt this Confession:

"Characteristics necessary to a Confession for the Church of Christ in Japan in this era of its history;—

"1. It should be simple and brief. Men are constantly ask-

ing: 'What are the doctrines of your Church?' They will not read a long document in reply.

"2. It should be a Confession about which the whole Church will rally, a Confession for pastor and people alike.

"3. It should be irenic. The church in Japan is face to face with Buddhism, Confucianism, Agnosticism, Rationalism, and radical Unitarianism. Its Confessions of Faith should proclaim the whole difference between these things and Christ. It should set forth the great truths of historical Christianity. But it should not be a symbol of division among those who love and worship one Lord Jesus Christ."

It is fitting that some notice should be taken of the work that was being done for the Japanese residing in California, and an article published in *The Church*, July, 1890, gives an account of its condition at that time. The number of Japanese then living in San Francisco was about two thousand, while from a thousand to fifteen hundred more were in the vicinity. A few years earlier, many young men had gone to California for study, supposing that they could easily gain admittance to the best schools and get an education at a very small expense. Some of these soon found it necessary to exchange study for work. Later comers were merchants, clerks, and labourers. Not only did individual churches endeavour to reach these people, but there were special movements in their behalf. That of the Methodists began about 1880, in connection with the Mission for the Chinese, and in 1886 was organised as a separate mission under the superintendence of Rev. M. C. Harris, D.D., who had been obliged, on account of Mrs. Harris's poor health, to give up missionary labour in Japan itself.* Dr. Harris's earnest efforts in behalf of the Japanese in California were in 1898 recognised by the Japanese Government, which conferred on him the decoration of the Fourth Degree of the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure.

In 1890 the Christian societies of Japanese in San Francisco were the following:

1. The Gospel Society, connected with the Methodist

*In 1904 Dr. Harris went again to Japan, having been appointed Bishop of the Methodist Church in Japan and Korea.

Church, and numbering one hundred and fifteen young men.

2. The Japanese Ladies' Benevolent Society, also connected with the Methodist Church, whose object was to relieve the sick and destitute, to distribute clothing, to find employment for Japanese women, and otherwise to assist them when in need.

3. The Japanese Young Men's Christian Association, connected with the Presbyterian Church and having ninety-five members.

4. The Only Friend Society, made up of about a dozen young men who were members of Kumi-ai Churches in Japan.

5. The Japanese Christian Union, composed of twenty-one persons of different denominations, who desired to become preachers of the Gospel.

There were two organised churches; one Methodist and the other Presbyterian. Several other churches in the city had Japanese among their members.

As time went on, the number of Japanese on the Pacific Coast and in other parts of America increased. Efforts for their evangelisation were made in many places, and some churches were organised.

Bishop Williams of the American Episcopal Mission had withdrawn in 1889 from Episcopal cares, and the office remained unfilled for four years. During a part of this time Bishop Hare of South Dakota superintended the affairs of the Mission, arriving in Japan in the spring of 1891. He soon afterwards joined with Bishop Bickersteth in proposing a plan for defining the respective jurisdictions of the English and American bishops. It was to be considered only a temporary arrangement, since "the English and American bishops are not regarded by the Japanese and should not be regarded by us as having jurisdiction over dioceses finally delimited, but rather as forerunners in the Episcopate of Japanese bishops who will exercise jurisdiction over such permanently defined dioceses as the expansion of the Japanese Church may in the future demand." The negotiations over this matter occupied considerable time, but in 1894 Japan was divided

into six dioceses:—Hokkaido, North Tokyo, South Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, and Kyushu.

At their annual meeting in 1891, the Kumi-ai Churches adopted a basis of organisation. While each church retained its independence, delegates were to meet in a general and in local associations for consultation on matters of common interest. A statement of the faith of the churches was prepared, not as a creed to which conformity was demanded, but as a declaration of beliefs held in common. As slightly modified by the committee to which it was entrusted, it took the following form in which it was adopted the next year:

"We believe in one God, infinite, perfect, who is made known in the Bible as Holy Father, Holy Son, and Holy Spirit. We believe in Jesus Christ, who, being God, became man; who suffered and died and rose again that He might save sinners. We believe in the Holy Spirit, who bestows the new life. We believe in the Bible, which was given by the inspiration of God and makes us wise unto salvation. We believe in the Holy Church, baptism by water, the Lord's Supper, the Holy Lord's Day, eternal life, the resurrection of the dead, and in just rewards and punishments."

In October, 1891, a terrible earthquake that had its centre near the cities of Gifu and Ogaki, resulted in the loss of eight thousand lives, the wounding of fifteen thousand persons, and the complete or partial destruction of more than one hundred thousand houses. The missionaries living in Gifu and Nagoya at once exerted themselves to help the suffering. As soon as the news reached other parts of the country, the Christians organised plans for relief. Such organised effort was new in Japan, and the example was quickly followed by the Buddhists. Almost the first, if not the very first, medical relief to reach the scene of disaster from outside was a corps of physicians and nurses led by Dr. Berry from the Doshisha Hospital in Kyoto. The foreigners in the open ports contributed about thirty-five thousand *yen* and sent committees to superintend the use of this fund. The help thus rendered by foreigners and by Christians did much to

change the general sentiment of a district that had been strongly prejudiced against both. One person engaged in the work said: "In their gratitude the people worshipped us daily," and this was doubtless literally true. The Christian orphanages received many of the children that were left without parents, and new asylums were opened for such persons and for others who had been made destitute. It was the first time that Christian charity had been displayed upon a large scale; and though the Buddhists are also to be commended for their activity, it was generally recognised that the Christians had acted more promptly and that their charity was more wisely administered.

It will be remembered that a company of young men commonly known as the "Kumamoto Band" had in spite of severe persecution entered into solemn covenant with each other that they would follow Jesus Christ and devote their lives to teaching His Gospel to their countrymen. They had been among the most prominent ministers of the Kumi-ai body and by their earnest labours had built up several churches. One of the most successful was Mr. Kanamori who, after a few years in Okayama and a short period of service as a teacher in the Doshisha, had become pastor of a church in Tokyo. His views upon some of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity underwent such a change that he resigned from the pastorate. Soon after this he published a book entitled "The Present and Future of Christianity in Japan." As described by another pastor: "This book stripped Christianity of its supernaturalism. It denied miracles, the divinity of Christ, and the atonement." This defection was perhaps the severest blow that the Protestant churches had yet received. At the time, none of the other leading preachers were ready to assent to his views, but his prominence brought before the Christians at large doctrines of which they before possessed but little knowledge. The book was, however, more a symptom of theological uneasiness than it was a promoting cause. Many of the preachers and educated laymen were readers of Western

periodicals, and the unrest existing in Europe could not but find an echo in Japan. In that country the results were the more deplorable because the Church had not reached a stage where it was prepared to discuss such questions as now perplexed it. Men who from childhood have been steeped in Christian thought can indulge in intellectual speculations with much less danger than those who have just come out from non-Christian systems of belief, and who are likely to lose all their faith if any part of it is seriously shaken.

After the opening of Japan proper to the Gospel, the Loochoo Islands were for a long time neglected by Protestants. Rev. J. C. Davison of the American Methodist Mission, spent five days there in 1887, and preached in Napha to a small company of Japanese and Loochooans. A lady from Scotland had long desired to see the Gospel given to the islanders, and after a visit to Japan she offered to the American Baptist Union a sum of money sufficient to provide what would be needed for the first years of evangelistic effort. The offer having been accepted, two Japanese evangelists were sent in the autumn of 1891. Not long afterward, Mr. Correll of the American Methodist Mission, visited the islands, where in December he baptised the first convert. Both the Baptists and Methodists have continued their work; and in 1893 the Church Missionary Society also stationed an evangelist there.

Official interference with Christian work increased. In one city where several military men had been brought into the church or into Christian clubs, officers of the grade of captain and lieutenants were told by superiors that they must stop trying to introduce Christianity into the ranks. In the Judicial Department men were told that the profession of Christianity was the only thing standing in the way of their promotion. It was also believed that the real cause for the discharge of certain teachers was their religion. The Christians desired to find some test case where the facts were sufficiently plain to justify an appeal. At last they con-

sidered that such a case had been found in Kumamoto, where in 1891 several events occurred that gave rise to much controversy in the newspapers. Some of the most prominent Christian ministers were chosen to bring the matter before the Government and the public. In an open letter that was published in several papers they stated that the prefectural Governor had said in an address to the leading officials of towns and villages:

"There are two things that are forbidden to teachers of primary schools. One is the belonging to any political party or to any society formed for political purposes. The other is the acceptance of Christianity. That is a foreign religion and is not to be believed. Teachers must strictly follow the Emperor's Rescript. In case a teacher accepts Christianity, he will be summarily dealt with."

It was alleged that a month later, when the principal of a primary school was informed by the police that four pupils were studying the Bible, he reprimanded them and threatened to expel them unless they desisted. One of them, who refused to obey, was expelled as a disorderly student. The committee of the Christians said:

"These evils are not limited to one prefecture. All through the country similar things are done. Even the editors of educational papers and of journals at the very foot of the Imperial Throne are, with strange ingenuity and recklessness, upholding such actions as being in harmony with the Constitution. In case it is decided that a believer in Christianity cannot attend the common schools, then it follows that the position of teacher is taken from Christians as well as the privileges of the schools from their children."

The Governor's secretary in a reply to this open letter declared that the speech in question had been incorrectly reported and that there was no official knowledge of the expulsion of a student for the alleged reason.

The committee had an interview with the Ministers of Education and of Home Affairs. The former said:

"Since it is the aim of the Department to teach morality on the basis of the Emperor's Rescript, any

attempt on the part of teachers, while engaged in their official duties, to obstruct this aim will be met with a dismissal from service. . . . But so far as religion is concerned, it is outside the control of the Educational Office, and beyond all question is left entirely to the free will of any and every individual. This Department has nothing to do with a teacher's belief in Buddhism, Christianity, or in no religion at all."

When reminded that the *Educational Journal,* which was supposed to represent the views of the Department, had supported the alleged action of the Governor and the principal of the school, the Minister declared that the Department had no connection with the magazine. The reply of the other minister was similar, and as both gave permission to have their words published, the position of the Christians regarding religious liberty was greatly strengthened.

There began to be, especially among the Kumi-ai Churches, considerable discussion upon the subject of complete independence from the missions. With what was said concerning the desirability of the churches becoming self-supporting most of the missionaries could sympathise, since it was what they themselves had urged. Unfortunately, however, the agitation was connected at this time with ill-feeling towards the missionaries, who were charged with endeavouring to exert too much control over the churches. Somewhat strangely, the severest criticisms came from those whose relations were with a mission that disclaimed all authority over the churches, leaving them to make their own creeds, to choose their own forms of government, and to manage their own finances; the missionaries retaining only the right to decide on their own methods of work and on the use that should be made of funds entrusted to their care. Some of the more radical agitators desired that missionary funds used in aiding schools and evangelistic work should be given as lump sums wholly into the care of the Japanese. Others wished that the missionaries should have such a connection with the churches that their location and forms of work should be decided by

the latter. In some quarters it was urged that missionaries ought to leave to the Japanese ministry the work in the older fields, while they themselves should go, as one of the pastors said, "into the interior and even to the Loochoo Islands." Criticisms of the missionaries were rife. Many of these were doubtless well-founded; but the manner in which they were made, sometimes even before audiences of unbelievers, did much to grieve the hearts and lessen the influence of even the most devoted foreign workers. To some extent, the agitation was an outgrowth of the ultra-nationalism that, in order to exalt everything Japanese, thought it necessary to depreciate whatever was done by foreigners. Not all, however, joined in the adverse criticism; and though at times any marked expression of esteem for missionaries subjected a person to the accusation of being their slave, many still prized their work and sought the co-operation of those who had been their first teachers.

Mention should be made of three persons that visited Japan in 1892. Dr. G. T. Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University, came to deliver a course of lectures in the Doshisha. He also addressed the students of the Imperial University in Tokyo, and spoke before the Young Men's Christian Associations at their summer school. His lectures on the relation of philosophy to religion were well received and exerted considerable influence. So good was the impression made upon Japanese scholars that Professor Ladd has since then made two visits to Japan in order to deliver lectures in the Imperial University.

Miss Mary A. West came to labour in behalf of temperance. She visited many cities, doing much to establish new total abstinence societies and to inspire the old ones with fresh enthusiasm. While in Kanazawa she fell ill and died. At her funeral in Tokyo many prominent officials and citizens united in showing honour to one who had lost her life in seeking the good of Japan.

Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D., the founder and President of

the Christian Endeavour Society, was the third of these visitors. A few Endeavour Societies had previously been established in Japan, and now as a result of his addresses several new ones were formed.

A missionary who had the reputation of usually looking on the bright side wrote concerning the year 1893:

"As for organised Christianity, it has been a hard, discouraging year. There are those who would not say so; but they cannot alter the fact that the churches are poorly attended, many a pastor or evangelist having hardly fifty for an audience, while the self-supporting churches find it harder and harder to be self-supporting with audiences that fail to increase. There are baptisms every month, perhaps a hundred and fifty on the average among all the Protestant churches, yet so many are students, teachers, or officials, who move from one place to another, that the churches are not generally growing stronger. With all this, there is something of friction between the missionaries and the native Christians, though that is by no means universal." *

Early in the year a very severe attack was made upon Christianity by Professor Inoue Tetsujiro of the Imperial University. He wrote an article that appeared simultaneously in six Buddhist and one Unitarian magazine. For a while it became the subject of controversy in all religious periodicals and to some extent in the secular papers. It was hailed with the greatest joy by Buddhists, and the ablest Christian writers busied themselves in replying to its charges. The following extracts from a synopsis given in the *Japan Mail* will show the spirit of the article:

"At the issuance of the Imperial Rescript, only Christians were opposed to it. Buddhists, Confucianists, and Shintoists accepted it. The Christians made defence that they did not oppose the Rescript, but only its worship. This, however, was a mere pretence. Christians do not like the meaning of the Imperial words; they oppose loyalty and filial obedience, the ancient principles of ethics in Japan. Why? Some Christians are of course loyal and teach the Rescript in their churches, but they are not supported by the conservative faithful. Christians are divided into two classes; one class seeking to preserve their

* Rev. J. H. DeForest, D.D., in the New York *Independent*, March 8, 1894.

doctrine, which is hostile to Japan, the other trying to Japanise their Christianity in spite of the impossibility of doing so. In a word, Christianity is not adaptable to Japan. If it were, why should it be necessary to try to adapt it to the country?. . . Christians do not worship any other than their one only God. Monotheism is like an absolute monarchy. It denies all other gods but its one. Polytheism is like a confederation of states; toleration of one with another prevails. Buddhism, which is polytheistic, has therefore had a warm and gentle history, but the history of Christianity has been intolerant and warlike. . . In Shinto also there are many gods; all Emperors are regarded as divine. Japanese ethics are the teachings left by the Emperors. Our nationality rests on this foundation. . . . Worship of the Emperor's words is nothing difficult to a patriot. Christians have lost their patriotism unconsciously. They wonder at the patriotic devotion of others. They antagonise the present moral passion, and will violate the order and destroy the unity of the country. . . . The essence of the Imperial Rescript and Christianity are different. If the former is to guide national education, Christians must oppose it. If there are Christians who accept it, they either simply acquiesce and wait, or, if sincere, they have changed their relation to Christianity. The two powers, the Rescript and Christianity are not in harmony."

Professor Inoue adduced several instances where Japanese Christians were alleged to have shown disrespect to the Rescript or to the Emperor's picture. By quotations from Christ's words and by references to European history he endeavoured to show that Christianity is destructive of patriotism. He closed by asserting that as Christ Himself had said, "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation," therefore the reception of Christianity would involve national destruction.

It will be seen that this attack, like those of twenty-five years before, was based upon the idea that Christianity is opposed to the principles of loyalty and filial piety. The replies of the Christians contained indignant denials that they were lacking in love for country and Emperor, or in readiness to follow the moral teaching laid down in the Rescript. Doubtless the charge laid against them led them to be more earnest in displaying their patriotism, and the morbid nationalism thus fostered increased the friction between them and the foreign missionaries.

Some of the missions had considerable trouble connected with holding property in the interior. Japanese law did not permit foreigners to be the legal owners of real estate. In some places it was difficult to rent suitable houses, and so land had been bought by the missionaries and buildings erected for residences, chapels, or schools. The real estate was necessarily registered in the name of some Japanese. Other foreigners besides the missionaries followed the same plan, and in the case of foreigners employed by the Government this was done by the assistance of the officials, so that the whole arrangement was open and perfectly understood. In connection with the morbid nationalism of the time, there suddenly arose the cry that foreigners were trying to buy up the best land in the country, and those who had consented to take the nominal ownership of the property for which the foreigners paid the money were condemned as traitors. Even some of the Christians began to say that those who held land for the missionaries were breakers of the law and that the missionaries themselves were parties to the crime. In a few cases the persons in whose name the property was registered mortgaged or sold it, retaining the money for themselves, and there was no legal redress. Some Christian schools built by the Japanese suffered in the same way, since the lack of trust laws made it necessary to have the property held in the names of individuals.

Mention has been made of Nagoya as a city where Buddhism possessed much strength, and where its followers exerted themselves to oppose Christianity. Several incidents occurring in 1893 showed the bitterness of their hatred. In May the meeting of the Japanese Evangelical Alliance was held in that city. It was at that time the custom among politicians to hire a class of men called *soshi,* who not only protected their employers from assault, but also did their best to break up the meetings of the other party. The Buddhists of Nagoya now resorted to similar methods. To a large public meeting of the Alliance held in the evening they sent a company of about forty *soshi,* who divided into two

bands, one remaining outside of the Methodist Church where the meeting was held, and the other entering the building. Soon they began an antiphonal chorus of yells, one group answering to the other. Ere long, stones and other missiles were thrown. In anticipation of trouble several policemen, some of them in citizen's clothing, were in attendance, but found it difficult to restore order. Some of those that were without uniforms had their clothes torn and they themselves were wounded. The Alliance had planned to invite the officials, teachers, and prominent citizens of the city to a social gathering; but the Buddhists went to the proprietor of the building that had been engaged for the purpose and threatened to tear it down if he permitted it to be used. The same course was pursued with the proprietor of another building where the Christian ladies of Nagoya had arranged a reception for the delegates. In both cases the owners withdrew their consent for the meetings.

In October a new chapel was dedicated by the Methodists of Nagoya. At an evangelical service that followed, the Buddhists, who had come in large numbers, rose at a given signal, smashed all the lamps, scattering the oil over the worshippers, tore the clock from the wall, and broke the windows. The Methodists had also rented a house for a chapel in another part of the city. The Buddhists went to the owner and protested against his letting the building for such a purpose. As he insisted that the clause of the Constitution insuring religious liberty gave him the right to let his house to Christians, a meeting was held in a temple to which he was called in order that he might be assailed with arguments and threats. Next, a building opposite the one in question was secured for an indignation meeting. *Soshi* were sent with clubs to invade the man's house, and he was forced to flee for refuge to some friends in the country. The Buddhists then induced the wife's family to say that they would compel her to leave him unless he repented. They at last accomplished what they desired; for when the man came with tears to the missionaries, threw down the money already paid, and

begged to be released from the contract, it did not seem best to insist on holding him to his former promise.

A great advance was made in the Church Missionary Society's work among the Ainu. In 1893 there was an increase from eleven church-members and two catechumens to two hundred and nineteen members and one hundred and fifty-one catechumens. The number of villages containing Christians increased from two to ten. Of one village Mr. Batchelor wrote:

"Every woman in Piratori has accepted Christ as her Saviour. That is a glorious triumph of the Cross, for the women hitherto have never been allowed to have any religion; the men only have worshipped God. Just think of old women over seventy years of age, now for the first time in their lives, praying—and praying to Jesus only!"

A Methodist missionary who visited Hakodate in January, 1903, wrote of the harmony that existed among different denominations in that city. He said:

"It is customary here in Hakodate for the Christians, not only to unite during the week in prayer, but also on the second Sunday of the Week of Prayer, and partake of the Lord's Supper together. One year the Lord's Supper is observed according to the Episcopal form, the next according to the Presbyterian, and the next according to the Methodist. . . . These Sunday 'Union' services are always held in the Methodist Church, because that church building is the largest. . . . I was invited to preach the sermon. . . After the sermon Mr. A., a missionary of the Church of England (a Low Churchman), conducted and administered the Holy Communion, wearing his surplice. He read the service in Japanese according to the order of his Church, inviting the pastors of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches (both Japanese) and myself within the railing around the pulpit. After partaking of the emblems himself, he administered them first to us three, and then invited us to assist him in administering to the people as they gathered about the railing."*

*If this book has any reader fifty years from the date of its publication, he will probably think it strange that space should be granted to a paragraph that speaks only of such fellowship as followers of Christ would naturally be expected to have in remembrance of their one Lord; but in these dark days, though

Among other signs of progress in 1893 may be mentioned the completion of the revised Episcopal Prayer Book, the holding of a summer school for girls, and the establishment of the Railway Mission. This last placed a copy of the New Testament in each railway station, and published a monthly paper for the benefit of railway men.

About this time the question began to be discussed among some of the missions whether it was advisable to ask for more workers from abroad. Some pointed to the many towns and villages whose inhabitants had as yet heard nothing of Christ, and asserted that until these had been reached there was need of more missionaries. Those that doubted the advisability of asking for re-enforcements were chiefly influenced by two considerations. It seemed to them that the responsibility for evangelising the country should be thrown largely upon the Japanese Christians themselves, the churches having already gained such a degree of strength as should enable them to carry on the work with the help of the foreign missionaries already on the field; and that, while many other countries were inadequately supplied with missionaries, men and women should not be urged to come to Japan except to meet special needs or to supply vacancies caused by death or removal. Some too, felt that in the present state of public opinion a marked increase in the number of foreign workers would prove irritating even to the Christians, many of whom complained that the missionaries were trying to keep things too much under their own control, and said that the money required for supporting one foreigner could be more advantageously used in employing several Japanese workers. To some missions it seemed preferable to leave the question of re-enforcements in

most Protestant denominations readily unite in communion services, there are some in which most of the clergy discourage such fellowship. It is the saddest of irony that the Lord's Supper, which should be the great symbol of union between all Christians, has become the point of the greatest separation, not only between the three great divisions of the Church, but at times between the sub-divisions of Protestantism.

abeyance, waiting for further developments before deciding whether to ask for new missionaries.

In view of the persecution to which the Christians of Nagoya had been subjected, it is gratifying to know of the blessings that came to them in the beginning of the year 1894. The different churches united in observing the annual Week of Prayer. The meetings were well attended, and as they drew near the close the interest was so great that it was decided to continue them. The faith of believers was quickened, and those that had grown cold confessed their sins. The awakening was such as had never before been known in that part of Japan, and the Christians were spurred to more earnest labour for unbelievers. Daily evangelistic services were begun in different parts of the city. Persons were chosen to convey to churches in other cities an account of this revival in the hope that the intelligence might lead them to seek and obtain similar blessings. One of the Christian newspapers reported that, as a reaction from the low state that had prevailed for several years, there were revivals in all parts of the country; those in Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagoya being the most noteworthy.

There continued to be in several places violent opposition to Christianity. In Saga, Buddhist students endeavoured to break up meetings that were inaugurated by the Evangelical Lutheran Mission. They used all sorts of insulting epithets, and tried to drown the voice of the speakers. Finally a mob gathered in front of the chapel, tore down the fence, threw stones, rushed into the building, and behaved so violently that several policemen were required to quell the disturbance. In Yonezawa, while an open-air meeting was being held, a stone thrown at Miss Imhof, who had gone to play the organ, broke her spectacles, and pieces of the glass entered one eye so that she lost its use. It should be said that the prefectural Governor and other officials called in person upon Miss Imhof or sent messages to express their regret for what had happened.

In March, 1894, the Unitarians dedicated in Tokyo

a two-story building to which the name Unity Hall was given. It contained an audience room, a library, and rooms for the use of a school. An extract from the dedicatory address of Rev. Clay MacCauley, D.D., will show the importance that he attached to the building:

"If, in beginning what I have to say, I should assert that in the modern history of Japan no event of more importance than this has taken place, most of those who hear me would think my words the extreme of absurdity and pretension. But, in a deep sense, this assertion is neither absurd nor pretentious. Let me say why. The purpose with which Unity Hall is to be made a gift to the Japanese people is this. Here we intend to give a home to a school of learning in which the highest human relations, those which are manifested in religion, morals, and social order, may not only be studied, but be also understood clearly and unquestionably; and further that from here the result of such study may be made practical in life. Here religion, morals, and social order are to be subjected to the same methods of investigation as those which characterise all objects of the science and philosophy of the present age. Here no tradition as such will control our work. Here, so far as possible, our high studies have been freed from prejudice." *

The outbreak of the war with China made the year 1894 an important one in Japan's history. This war affected in many ways the progress of Christianity. In the first place, the Christians had an opportunity to disprove the charge that had so persistently been brought against them of being deficient in loyalty. Those in the army were eager to prove their devotion to their country, and some of the most noteworthy deeds of personal valour were performed by them. An interdenominational society was formed through which money was raised and supplies contributed to furnish comforts for the soldiers.

The war opened a way for carrying the Gospel into the army. It will be remembered that soldiers had often been warned not to attend Christian services nor to read Christian books. Even so late as the spring of 1894, a prince of the blood, who was in command of a garrison, gave what was practically an order that

* *Japan Weekly Mail,* March 31, 1894.

Christian soldiers must give up their religion. In a branch of this garrison, about a dozen of the common soldiers and a few officers formed an important part of the church in the city where they were stationed. The privates decided that it would be necessary for them to conform outwardly to the command, and asked to have their names erased from the register of the church. Some of the officers felt obliged to take the same course. Now, however, a great change came. Rev. H. Loomis, the agent of the Bible Societies, obtained from the Vice-Minister of War permission to visit all the garrisons in Japan in order to supply the men with copies of the Gospels. Letters were sent to the commanding officers instructing them to give Mr. Loomis the necessary assistance for distributing the books. In some places regiments were drawn up in line that they might be addressed by a missionary before the books were given out. In other places the officers received the books and themselves distributed them to the men. A similar work was done in the navy. The Scriptures and other Christian literature were distributed to soldiers in the hospitals and even to the Chinese prisoners that were sent to Japan. In nearly every case the books were thankfully received, and many of the officers wrote letters expressing their appreciation of what had been done. Prince Komatsu, who was next in command to the Emperor, expressed in person his gratitude to Mr. Loomis.

Five prominent Japanese ministers went to the seat of war as chaplains. They were sent by the Christians, but were recognised by the military authorities, so that they had their quarters with the army. When they were to deliver addresses, the officers usually gave out notices of the meetings and came themselves with the men. In addition to direct religious work, the chaplains, whose official designation signified "comforters," tried in various ways to cheer the men by sympathetic ministrations to their welfare. Occasionally they came in contact with Chinese Christians. Notwithstanding the difference in language, they could communicate with these in writing. One of the chaplains says of a prayer-meeting held with the Chinese: "Though we could not

talk together, the tunes of the hymns we sang, the name of Christ, and the word 'Amen' were equally familiar to all."

Plans were made for sending two American missionaries to engage in similar work, and there is good reason to believe that the consent of the military authorities would have been gained had it not been that the American Minister refused to forward the request that must of necessity pass through his hands.

During the war the city of Hiroshima was the military headquarters, and it also became the centre for much Christian work among the soldiers that spent a longer or shorter time in the city on their way to or from the seat of war. The most favourable opportunity for work was among the sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals. Missionaries joined with Japanese Christians in carrying books, papers, pictures, flowers, and other things to the patients, who were glad for anything that would relieve the monotony of the hours. Those in charge of the hospitals welcomed such ministrations and gave the missionary ladies freedom to visit all parts of the hospitals and to converse with the patients. Some of the hospitals were under the care of the Red Cross Society. This had become very popular in Japan. Most of the prominent citizens of the country were members, and a large force of nurses had received training under its auspices. Though not a Christian society, its symbol was significant of the fact that its principles of charity to be shown to friend and foe alike had come from the teaching of Him who had died upon the Cross. When it was remembered that not many years before the Japanese had trampled upon the cross as the sign of a hated religion, it was very suggestive to see it now becoming an honoured symbol. In the long wards of the hospitals, the cross was everywhere to be seen,—on the sleeves of the surgeons, on the white caps of the nurses, on the clothes worn by the patients themselves. One of the missionary ladies said: "How could we keep from speaking of our Saviour when the Cross was ever before our eyes? What better introduction to religious conversation could there be than to ask the sick

soldier if he knew the original meaning of the symbol he was wearing on his arm?" Yet it was necessary to take care not to weary the patients nor to press the subject of Christianity unduly. The missionary ladies by their helpfulness and wisdom so commended themselves to the persons in charge that they were allowed to visit the wards at hours in which even relatives were denied admittance.

By the treaty of peace that concluded the war Formosa and the Pescadores were ceded to Japan. This brought into its territory a number of churches and Christians, the fruits of work done by the Canadian and the English Presbyterian Missions. The scope of this history does not require an account of these missions among the Formosans, though mention may be made of the fellowship that Christians in the Japanese army, and afterward, those in official positions had with their fellow-believers who had now become their fellow-countrymen. Efforts were also put forth, especially by the Church of Christ in Japan (Presbyterian), for the religious welfare of the Japanese settled in Formosa.

In 1894 the Church of Christ in Japan took a step in the line of financial independence by a reorganisation of its Board of Missions. For some years before this the Co-operating Missions had given three *yen* for every one contributed by the churches, and the Board had been composed in equal numbers of missionaries and Japanese. According to the new plan, the subsidies of the Missions were relinquished and a Board consisting of twenty members was elected by the Synod. This Board was to have the general charge of the work, entrusting its direct management to an Executive Committee.

Near the close of 1894, Rev. Yokoi Tokio who, like Mr. Kanamori, was a member of the "Kumamoto Band," and one of the most prominent ministers in the Kumi-ai body, published a book entitled "The Problem of Christianity in Our Country." Dealing with questions upon the essence of Christianity and the future of evangelistic work in Japan, its position was that of

extreme "liberalism" and naturalism. To many it seemed to go farther than Mr. Kanamori's book and to be more destructive of Christian faith. It did not, however, give rise to so much discussion; though this was in part because the views advocated were no longer novel.

Christian work was in various ways affected by the ratification, in 1894 and 1895, of new treaties between Japan and Western nations. As has been previously noted, the Japanese had long desired to be relieved from extra-territoriality and from other restrictions imposed by the older treaties, and the reluctance of some nations to grant any concessions had caused much ill-will towards foreigners. Japan was now received as an equal, and this did much to foster good feeling. Missionaries were directly affected by the provision that, when the treaties should come into full effect in 1899, aliens would be allowed to travel or to reside in the interior. It will be remembered that hitherto only those foreigners that were in the employ of Japanese could live outside of the open ports; and this led many missionaries to become teachers and to submit to various annoying regulations. For travel it had been necessary to obtain passports from the central Government. Hence, missionaries could not quickly respond to calls to visit places in the interior. It had been necessary in application for these passports to specify the exact route to be taken, and at times the Government refused to give those that were valid for more than a fortnight. Immediately after the new treaties were ratified, the Government began to grant permissions, good for one year, to travel in any part of the country. The missionaries rejoiced in this new freedom and there was much more touring in country districts than had before been possible.

It was in part an indirect result of the war that there came a great and rapid increase of industrial and commercial activity. Many factories were built, railroads were projected, and stock companies were formed for all sorts of enterprises. Japan seldom does things by halves, and the whole nation seemed to be affected by

the spirit of commercialism. In some respects this had an unfavourable influence upon Christian activity. People were so occupied in devising ways to make money that it was hard to call their attention to spiritual things. Some Christians were so busy that they neglected religious duties; those engaged in manufactures found it easy to invent excuses for not observing the Sabbath; and others yielded to the temptations that beset those that are in haste to become rich. Even those that had entered the ministry were affected. Their education had a commercial value that enabled them to obtain remunerative employment. Some of them had been discouraged by lack of success in evangelistic labours, and thought they had mistaken their calling. Others had the idea that they would help the churches to financial independence by providing for their own support while continuing to preach the Gospel; but they soon found that the claims of business left them little time and strength for evangelistic work. Not only was there the loss of many from the ministry; but commercialism, theological doubts, and a general loss of earnestness combined to reduce greatly the number of young men studying in the theological schools.

The year 1895 brought an important change in the relations of the Kumi-ai Churches to the American Board Mission. The Kumi-ai Missionary Society had long received from the Board a subsidy that in recent years had amounted to about three times the contributions from Japanese sources. The missionaries, though often urging that this aid be relinquished, had not thought it wise to refuse it. Now at last, the churches decided to trust to their own resources for the support of the Missionary Society. For the most part the separation was made in a kindly spirit, though it was hastened by the dislike that the Japanese felt to the insistence by the Mission that, in justice to the interests of American contributors, it must retain the right of so far supervising the money entrusted to its care as to ensure that this would be used for propagating the fundamental truths of the Gospel. Some doubted whether the churches would be able to carry on a vigorous work

alone, but increased responsibility gave new interest. The Japanese contributions in the last four years of joint support were respectively 1,130, 1,335, 928, and 644 *yen;* but after the society became independent, its annual income never fell below 3,000 *yen,* a result the more noteworthy because the change took place at a time when the faith and earnestness of the churches seemed to be at the lowest ebb.

There had gradually arisen among the missionaries of the American Board much dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Doshisha.* As the affairs of that institution occupy considerable space in the history of this and succeeding years, it may be well to recall a few facts concerning it. It will be remembered that it had been established by Dr. Neesima in co-operation with the missionaries. The American Board had given money for the erection of buildings and for other expenses, and had acted as the medium through which other contributions from American friends of missions had been bestowed. Its missionaries formed an important part of its teaching force. Since foreigners could not hold real estate in the interior of Japan, it was distinctly understood that the Board had no legal claim upon the property, unless possibly to insist that it should be used in conformity with the purpose for which it had been given. A company of Japanese had been formed with a brief constitution declaring that it should hold the property, should use it for the maintenance of Christian schools, and should have charge of all business arising between said schools and the Japanese Government. One article said that money contributed by the American Board should be expended under the direction of the missionaries of the Board after consultation with

* Gladly would I omit from the record of the next few years many of the things that must be written concerning the Doshisha, and this the more gladly because most of those who differed concerning the policy of the institution were able after some years to unite again in its support; but while these desire so far as possible to let bygones be bygones, history does not permit the dead past to bury its dead, and it is necessary that events so greatly affecting Christian work in Japan should be duly narrated.

the President and the Japanese teachers of the school. After a time it seemed advisable to have a more thorough organisation and to put the financial management of the school entirely in the hands of a new company, which was necessarily composed of Japanese, though three members of the Mission were to act as Associate Trustees, giving advice but having no vote. The American Board continued to contribute to the funds of the Company, and gifts came from individual friends of the school in America. Money from Japanese donors was given with full knowledge that the Constitution declared Christianity to be "the foundation of the moral education promoted by the Company."

During Dr. Neesima's life and for a short time after his death, all went on satisfactorily. Then it seemed to the missionaries that the school was gradually losing its Christian character. Some of the teachers declared that they were in the school simply to give instruction, and that they were under no obligation to concern themselves with the moral condition of the pupils. One of the first marked occurrences to show the difference between the views of the missionaries and those of the Japanese teachers came in connection with a course of lectures given by Captain L. L. Janes. He was the man through whose influence the members of the "Kumamoto Band" had been led to a belief in Christianity. Some of them were now leading teachers in the Doshisha, one of them was its President, and others served on the Board of Trustees. Captain Janes had been in America for several years. His old pupils felt that the missionaries had failed to take his side as they ought when certain charges had been made against him; and this feeling lay at the bottom of many of the troubles that at this time crippled the educational and evangelistic work of the American Board Mission. After a while he returned to Japan, having been engaged as a teacher in one of the government schools in Kyoto. In the autumn of 1893 he was asked to speak before the Lecture Association of the Doshisha students. In his lectures he denounced theological instruction, criticised the church as the enemy of progress and liberty, sneered

at missionaries, denied the existence of a personal God, and ridiculed fundamental Christian doctrines. The foreign teachers remonstrated with the person who, in the absence of the President, was in charge of the school; but he refused to interfere with the liberty of the students to have such lectures as they desired. Fortunately the students themselves, after two or three lectures, were unwilling to listen to more. They went to the lecturer, saying they did not care to have the course continued, and one of the advanced pupils, who had acted as interpreter, made a public apology of his own accord for having aided a person who was trying to tear down what Dr. Neesima had built up.

As time went on, the missionaries felt that more and more their influence was being undermined, especially by some of the teachers who, at the morning chapel exercises, in the classroom, and in public journals ridiculed them and their teaching. The missionaries were not alone in considering that the school was proving unfaithful to the principles on which it had been founded, for many of the alumni and Christian friends of the school grieved over what was being done.

For several years the Mission had been urging the Board to send some of its officers or corporate members to give advice regarding the settlement of perplexing questions. In the autumn of 1895 such a deputation, consisting of four members, reached Japan. Spending a little over two months in the country, they conferred with Japanese officials, missionaries of different societies, and prominent Japanese Christians, thus gathering much information about the general situation in Japan as also about that which gave rise to the specific problems calling for their consideration. In regard to the Doshisha they found "a marked concurrence in the opinion that a change had taken place in the spirit of the institution. It was quite generally affirmed that the Christian character and spiritual tone of the university are far less pronounced than formerly." In a conference with the Trustees an interpretation of the clause in the Constitution that made Christianity the foundation of the moral education promoted by the Company

was sought. The following extract from the Report of the Deputation will show the position taken by each side:

"We asked if they would affirm as among the beliefs for which the Doshisha stood in Japan the personality of God, the divinity of Christ, and the future life. They declared that they could not. While as individuals they could affirm their acceptance of these beliefs, as Trustees they could not affirm them, since differences existed among Christians on these points, and they must not ally themselves with any party. When asked if they would accept the creed of the Kumi-ai churches in definition of the sense in which they used the word Christian, they declined, saying that they would thus identify themselves with a single denomination. When urged at two long conferences to make some statement, however brief, in language of their own, of what they meant by 'Christianity,' since the word did not in their minds involve the above-named beliefs, they declined. They said it was not necessary; that having declared their purpose to maintain a Christian institution they should be trusted so to do; that to affirm the above-named beliefs would narrow the basis of the university, would cause the resignation of professors whose services they did not wish to lose, would repel students who were encouraged now to enter the school by its spirit of free enquiry. . . . It was carefully explained to the Trustees that the American churches which contributed to the treasury of the Board, while not making a test of any creed, could hardly hold to be Christian those persons or institutions which deliberately refused to declare belief in a personal God and in the divinity of Jesus Christ, in the immortality of the soul, and in the supernatural elements of Christianity. The reply was that the whole subject had been a matter of thought with them; that theological opinion in Japan was in a formative state, and beliefs were unsettled; that for that reason and because it would be disastrous to act now under appearance of compulsion, they could make no statement whatever, except that they would maintain a Christian university."

It seemed to the Deputation that the American Board would not be justified in continuing indefinitely to use for the Doshisha money contributed for promoting Christian education in Japan; but in order not to make the change too abrupt, they recommended that for the time being the American teachers supplied to the Doshisha by the Board be continued, that co-operation in the Theological Department remain as before, and that the subsidy given by the Board to the Company be annually reduced, so as to cease at the end of the year 1898.

Concerning the condition of the churches the Deputation reported:

"Japan is characterised by the intensity with which it seizes a new idea. We believe the movement toward extreme liberalism in the Kumi-ai churches, which is not widespread, but which is championed by a few writers and public speakers, if left to its natural course, will soon disappear. A few who are involved may lose their faith in Christianity and leave the Church, but we believe the tendency to destructive criticism will be less in the future, and that the work of construction will be more prominent. The theological problems of the world are now discussed in Japan, and that too without a balancing foundation of Christian faith and life."

In October, 1895, a meeting of the pastors and evangelists of the Kumi-ai churches was held in Nara. It was so timed that the Deputation might attend some of its sessions. At this meeting the following "Declaration" was prepared:

"We who, believing and revering Jesus Christ as Saviour, are called of God, do greatly mourn over the present condition of the world, and assembled here in prayer unto God and in the rich enjoyment of the Holy Spirit's gracious influence, we determine to proclaim the Gospel and to establish the kingdom of God according to the following principles:

"1. That all men should repent of all sin, and through Christ should return unto obedience to the Heavenly Father.

"2. That all men being the children of God, the great principles of love and sympathy should be upheld among them.

"3. That the home should be purified by maintaining the principles of monogamy; and the mutual duties of parents and children, elder and younger brothers, should be fulfilled.

"4. That the nation should be elevated and the welfare of mankind promoted.

"5. That the hope of eternal life should be perfected through faith and righteousness."

By many, especially by those that desired to see a Japanese form of Christianity, this Declaration was hailed with great enthusiasm. A Japanese professor of the Doshisha wrote of it as being by far the most influential document yet issued by the Christians of Japan, and said: "Viewed from the standpoint of conciseness, of absence of dogmatism or theocratic tendency,

and of the prominence given to morals and ethics based on the personal instructions of Christ, the instructions forming the basis of this creed must be considered as the best of their kind since the establishment of the Christian Church in Japan." By some others, who considered the document a production of those who were trying to combine Christianity with Confucian and Shinto elements, it was thought unsatisfactory because of what it omitted rather than for what it contained.

In September, 1895, the Salvation Army began work in Japan. Before this, two or three Japanese who had seen something of the Army in America or England had copied certain of its methods, but none of them had any connection with the central organisation. Those who now came began operations in both Yokohama and Tokyo. They adopted what was called "the native policy," that is, as in India and some other countries, they used the dress, food, and many customs of the people among whom they laboured. The sudden change to Japanese food brought serious illness to some of their number, and it was found advisable to modify the policy. Reports of what the Salvation Army had accomplished in England had preceded it to Japan, where not only were the Christians prepared to welcome it, but even some of the Buddhist periodicals praised what it had done for the degraded and criminal classes. Headquarters were opened in Tokyo, and the usual methods for attracting the attention of the people were pursued. Ere long a Japanese edition of *The War Cry* was published; and in after years, as the number of soldiers increased, the work extended to other cities; efforts for sailors, discharged convicts, prostitutes, and other classes, being added to the general proclamation of the Gospel.

In December the United Brethren in Christ established a mission in Japan, the Missionary Secretary of the denomination visiting the country in company with a Japanese minister who had been educated in America, and who was now put in charge of the work. He proved unfitted for such responsibility, and the work was continued in ways like those of other missions.

Leprosy is very common in Japan. Exact statistics are not obtainable; for the disease is considered to bring such disgrace upon the family which it enters that its existence is often concealed. When the family is in comfortable circumstances, the patient is usually shut off in a separate room in order that he may not be seen by outsiders, and there he must remain until his death. In other cases the man often becomes an outcast, being left to beg and prolong his miserable existence as best he may. Rev. M. L. Gordon, D.D., in "An American Missionary in Japan" tells of one such sufferer.

"He was one of the original members of the church, and it was known at the time that he had the taint of leprosy in his system. The dread disease was, however, quiescent, and it was hoped would remain so, and hence he mingled freely with the other Christians, visited us in our homes, and often sat with us at the communion table. But of late years the disease became virulent, and by the end of 1890 he was totally blind and otherwise greatly disfigured. The unchristian villagers drove him out of the village; his brothers and other relatives deserted him; and he lived alone in a rude hut in the mountains, receiving a little aid from the prefectural government and more from the Japanese Christians and missionaries. At a later period the Christians cooked his food and otherwise cared for him, but for quite a while he built his own fire and cooked his own rice, going, in his solitary blindness, to and from the spring that furnished him with water, guided by the straw rope which had been put there for that purpose. The evangelist . . . went to condole with him, but to his surprise he was met by the assurance that he was not an object of condolence; that his heart was full of joy, because *Kami ga shiju waga ushiro ni oru,* 'God is always behind me.'"

About 1886 a Roman Catholic priest had established at Gotemba an asylum for lepers and in 1894 Miss Youngman of the Presbyterian Mission began a similar work in a suburb of Tokyo. The attention of Miss S. Riddell, an English missionary living in Kumamoto, was also drawn to this pitiable class of sufferers. In the vicinity of Kumamoto are small villages whose populations are almost wholly composed of such persons. Of one village it was commonly said: "Everybody in it is a leper except the stone idol." Large numbers of lepers from other parts of Japan make their way to

Kumamoto in order to pray at a shrine dedicated to Kato Kiyomasa, the former persecutor of the Christians, which, because he became a leper, gained the reputation of being a favourable place for gaining relief from the dread disease. At almost any time many of them can be seen about this shrine engaged in prayer or asking for alms. There was reason to hope that by proper medical treatment some of these persons could be permanently benefited, and through the efforts of Miss Riddell and her friends funds were raised for the erection of a hospital which was dedicated in November, 1895. Since then it has brought both physical and spiritual blessings to those that have been gathered within its walls.

Among the indirect results of Christianity has been that it has spurred to new energy other systems with which it has come in contact. The Buddhists saw that it was necessary for them to exert themselves if they wished to retain their hold upon the people. Some of their leading magazines spoke in strong terms concerning the corruption and indolence of the priesthood. In May, 1895, the Minister of Home Affairs issued instructions that higher intellectual standards should be required of those becoming Shinto or Buddhist priests. Among other things this document said:

"Priests of either Shinto or Buddhist sects, charged as they are with the grave duty of propagating religious doctrines, ought to combine learning and virtue so as to command the respect of the people. Hence the processes pursued for testing their qualifications should be specially scrupulous and exact, everything savouring of partiality being carefully avoided. It is nevertheless commonly reported of the priests now in holy orders that not a few are distinguished neither by learning nor by virtuous conduct, and are entirely unfitted for their posts."

The better class of priests felt keenly the disgrace involved in this censure from the Government and in the comments made upon it by secular papers. One writer in a Buddhist magazine wrote in the gloomiest terms concerning the future of religion, which, he said, was holding its own only by the force of inertia, being

sustained by the old and middle-aged, and even they were gradually growing cold in the faith. He added:

"Ten years hence nobody will be able to find religious peace in Buddhism. Within that time it will fail in all its endeavours. Its discipline will become powerless, its temples deserted, its believers and priests decimated. If present Buddhism is not reformed by some great man, it will have fallen into a state of hopeless decay by the end of the century."

The more progressive priests had before this imitated the methods adopted by Christians. They had established schools for boys and girls, summer schools, philanthropic societies, Young Men's Buddhist Associations, and other organisations. One magazine now published an article entitled "Learn from Christianity," in which the activity of the Christians, their readiness to adapt themselves to the national situation, and their spirit of devotion to principles rather than to money, were held up as worthy of imitation. Other magazines urged that the spirit and methods of the Christians be more generally copied. Though Buddhism as a system had given but little honour to women, it was now urged that they were well fitted to spread the tenets of their faith, and they were exhorted to speak of religion in their homes, to organise women's societies, and to establish kindergartens, girls' schools, and schools for nurses.

The Church for September, 1896, published an article by Rev. T. T. Alexander, D.D., on "The Problems before the Church of Japan." What he said upon two points will throw some light upon the condition of Christian work at the period that we are now considering. The first problem mentioned was that of how the masses were to be reached. He said:

"The last ten years have witnessed a very widespread evangelism in Japan. Both missionaries and Japanese evangelists have gone on evangelistic tours throughout the land, penetrating into the remotest country districts, not only preaching but, as far as possible, making the work permanent by establishing regular preaching places or churches. They have been followed and in many cases preceded by colporteurs and Bible-women carrying the

Gospel to the very doors of the people. In the great centres, like Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, churches and preaching-places may be counted by the score, in some of which the Gospel is preached daily. Preaching services are frequently held in the public parks. Opportunities are sought on festival days and at national or local expositions; and mass meetings are often held for preaching the Word. In short, there has been a steady, faithful, and persistent effort made to give the Gospel to the people, whether they would hear or forbear. Over and above more direct results, a general impression has been created that, after all, Christianity is not such a bad thing, that in fact it may be a very good thing. And yet, it must be confessed, the masses have hardly been touched and the question 'How shall we reach them?' presses hard upon the church to-day. . . The lower and peasant classes are still powerfully under the influence of the past and largely Buddhistic in faith, loose in morals, idolatrous and superstitious to the last degree. The middle classes are more hopeful but still largely indifferent, not to say hostile, toward Christianity; while the higher classes, for the most part, are sceptical and distant in their attitude. Young men of all classes are generally non-religious and atheistic."

Concerning the problem of education, Dr. Alexander wrote:

"This is one of the most important and most pressing of all the questions now before the church. Christian education must be had; but how can it be secured? The government schools from the kindergarten to the university are on a purely secular basis, religious instruction of every sort being strictly ruled out. Religion may, however, be freely taught in private schools, and these may be multiplied indefinitely without interference on the part of the Government. On the face of it, therefore, the problem would seem to be easy of solution. As long as so much liberty is accorded private schools, there ought to be no serious difficulty, one might suppose, in providing Christian education for all who will avail themselves of it. Now it is true that there are a great many Christian schools in Japan for both sexes and of different grades, most of them dependent upon the missions for financial aid as well as for help in teaching, and so long as the missions are willing to continue their support the schools can be kept going. The chief difficulty, however, does not lie here, but rather in the fact that private schools as such labour under very decided disadvantages when compared with the government schools. The latter confer upon their students certain privileges which private schools cannot confer—such as freedom from military conscription while in school, admission to competitive examinations for civil service, etc. To put it in another way, students of private schools are not exempt from military conscription and hence may be drafted into the army at any time;

they cannot enter government schools except by examination, and when they have graduated from the private schools they are forever excluded from the civil service, so that no public career can ever be open to them, no matter how great their abilities or attainments. Hence the number of students, particularly of boys, in Christian schools is kept down to a comparatively low figure; even Christians preferring to forego their natural preference for a Christian education in order to secure for their sons the advantages which the government schools alone can give."

In order to avoid the disadvantages under which private schools laboured, some of them sought and gained recognition from the Government as being on a par with the public schools, and so entitled to the same privileges. With some of the Christian schools this change apparently involved no interference with religion; but whether because of the rulings of local education officials, or because the spirit within the school itself led to the minimising of the religious element, the Doshisha decided that it was necessary to drop all Biblical study from the curriculum of the academical department. This became the subject of much earnest discussion in meetings of the faculty held for the purpose of revising the course of study; the foreign teachers protesting against the change and against other action that seemed to them subversive of the principles on which the school had been established. It was becoming more and more evident that the two elements, represented on the one side by the missionary teachers, and on the other by the most influential Japanese teachers and trustees, could no longer be harmonised. At the annual meeting of the trustees in April, they passed resolutions in which, after thanking the American Board for its former aid, they said: "In order to make clear our relation to the American Board, we decline to receive, after the close of 1896, its customary gift of annual subsidy and its aid of missionary teachers." An explanatory letter sent by the President of the Trustees to the missionaries said: "I can assure you that the Trustees have no intention whatever of turning you out from the institution where some of you have worked so long and so devotedly, nor any desire that your con-

nection with it should cease. I say confidently that we all desire and earnestly hope that you will stay here and aid us in the good work of Christian education." The thought of the writer seems to have been that the missionaries might continue to give their services to the Doshisha as individuals and not as representatives of the Board that continued to support them.

The Mission of the American Board held its annual meeting in July. A letter sent to the Doshisha Trustees said:

"The fundamental principles of Christianity, which were dear to the hearts of the founders of the Doshisha, to those of the American friends who have given thousands of dollars for its support, and which are not less dear to the hearts of all the members of our Mission, have been publicly assailed or ridiculed from the platform of the school and in other ways by persons connected with the administration; and instead of listening to the earnest protests of the representatives of the Mission, the Trustees have in one instance promoted an instructor who has been most active in assailing the Christian foundations of the institution to be the head of an important department. . . . There is no longer a unity of feeling and practice in the Doshisha but rather such a wide divergence as to render it unwise, if not impossible, for any of our number to continue to cooperate as teachers in the school."

It was thought best by the foreign teachers that their connection with the school should cease at once, instead of in the middle of a school year, and accordingly they sent in their resignations. In September the President of the Doshisha gave to the Kyoto Government a paper containing the following promises:

"1. The moral education of the Doshisha Ordinary Middle School will be founded upon the Imperial Educational Rescript. Avoiding the needless discussion of the extremes of ethical theory, its aim will be practical. It will seek to inculcate an earnest spirit of loyalty and filial obedience by which the people shall each honour his own ancestors and all shall reverence the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors. The teachers will always seek to cultivate in the minds of the pupils an earnest desire for the country's good, for this we regard as the very highest aim of popular education.

"2. On the National Holidays the pupils will be called together, the Imperial Educational Rescript will be read to them,

and they will be carefully instructed as to the Imperial will, or taught of the great virtues and illustrious deeds of past Emperors, or of the lives and teachings of the ancient sages; or other addresses suitable to the National Holidays may be given them in order to cultivate a spirit of loyalty to the Emperor and of love to the country. This is the purpose which we hope to carry into practice.

"3. In the graduation and like exercises in the Doshisha Ordinary Middle School religious exercises or ceremonies as a means of propagating religion will not, of course, be held, but there will be an effort to deeply impress the students with the precepts of the Imperial Educational Rescript." *

Now the Constitution of the Doshisha said: "Christianity is the foundation of the moral education promoted by this company." Persons who criticised the present substitution of the Imperial Rescript for Christianity were accused of holding the view that the two were opposed to each other; an argument that could be made very effective in such a country as Japan. The future course of events showed that another important step had been taken in the departure of the institution from its original standards. Indeed, there seemed to be no need for the declaration made to the Kyoto Government unless it was to show to the officials that Christianity was no longer the controlling principle of the school.

The action of the Doshisha Trustees was severely criticised by many Japanese Christians and to some extent by others. One Shinto periodical spoke of the relations of the institution to the American Board as that of a child to its parent, and reprobated the unfilial spirit that had been shown. "Regarded altogether apart from Christianity," it said, "the conduct of the Doshisha is unseemly. How much worse does it appear when it is remembered that the chief actors in the scene just witnessed profess the gospel of love, peace, and charity."

Even with private schools of lower grades, there were advantages in obtaining the recognition of the Govern-

* It is said that the paper as originally written contained the following clause, which the Government refused to accept because it seemed to provide for Christian prayer: "In these exercises we shall regard it as our duty to pray for divine help and heavenly blessing upon the Imperial House and upon the Nation."

ment. In some cases it was found impossible to do this without the surrender of principle. When the Ferris Seminary in Yokohama sought a license for its primary department, it was told that the request could be granted only on condition that the school would promise that no distinctively Christian instruction would be given to its pupils. Further enquiry showed that attendance at church and at morning prayers would be interpreted as receiving Christian instruction, and so the school saw no course but to withdraw its request.

In September, 1896, there was a gathering at the villa of Viscount Matsudaira in Tokyo, of prominent persons connected with different religious systems. Nineteen Buddhist priests, sixteen Christians, two Shintoists, and five other persons were present. The professed object of the meeting was to promote friendly feelings between those of different beliefs. The speakers, as was natural, emphasised the similarities and minimised the differences between the religions represented. Many of the addresses were permeated with nationalistic ideas. A prominent Christian pastor said: "At the present time the prevailing spirit in Japan is in favour of nationalism, and I take it that the object of this meeting is to adapt religion to this condition, to intensify the nationalistic spirit, and by showing that it is endorsed by the teaching of our creeds, to render those creeds a power in the world." Other speeches were of a similar tenor. Some Christian newspapers spoke of the meeting as a proof that Christianity had won for itself a place where other religions were forced to recognise it as on an equal footing with themselves. Many believers, however, regarded the meeting with little favour, considering it an outcome of the movement that was weakening the faith and zeal of many of the Christians by minimising fundamental doctrines.

It will be remembered that several Christians had been serving as moral instructors in the prisons of the Hokkaido. A change in administration brought in a superintendent strongly prejudiced against Christianity, who

soon adopted such measures as made the instructors feel that it was unwise for them to remain. Some of them, however, found other ways in which they could labour for the criminal classes. The pioneer in the work for prisoners had been Mr. Hara Taneaki. He continued to publish for the benefit of convicts a magazine that was admitted into many prisons of the land. He also sent it to many discharged criminals, especially to those whom he had known in the prisons. At a later date he established in Tokyo a temporary home for ex-prisoners, and in other ways he did much to help this class of men.

The Hokkaido was being gradually occupied by settlers moving thither from the main island. In some cases, companies of Christians united in founding colonies. Rev. W. R. Andrews, of the Church Missionary Society, in 1898 thus described the condition of one of these villages whose very name showed the faith of its settlers:

"Emmanuel Mura is a settlement where there are sixty Christians. Of these, twenty belong to the Seikokwai (Native Episcopal Church) and the rest to the Congregational Church. The Seikokwai Christians have their own little church building, having erected it last year, mostly with their own hands. Sunday is well kept in this village; no one thinks of doing any work. All get up later, don their best clothes, and come to church for service at ten, and stay in church till twelve or one. The service proper lasts an hour, but religious talk, etc., keeps them afterwards. The Sunday-school, too, is generally going on while the adults are having their talk. In the evening there is another service. I was told that, however fine the day, no one would ever go out into the fields for work."

In November of the same year, the present writer spent a Sunday with the Congregationalists of this village. The meeting was held in the cabin of one of the settlers, a rough building about thirty by fifteen feet in size, made of reeds bound to a framework of poles. The wind, rain, and sleet found easy access on every side. In the centre of the hut was a square fireplace, the fire being built on the ground. The fuel consisted of split logs about three feet long. One end of these blazed in the centre of the fireplace, and as the

logs burned away they were gradually pushed up towards the flame, new ones being added from time to time. On three sides of the fireplace were the boards that covered one-half of the floor-space, the rest being the bare ground. There was no chimney and no opening in the roof except the crevices between the reeds with which it was thatched. In moments of calm, the smoke rose quietly upward to where the poles and reeds had been coloured a glossy, oily black from the accumulations of former years; but every few moments a puff of wind would send the smoke into the faces of those that sat about the fire. The colonists paid little attention to this beyond squinting up their eyes when the smoke was thicker than usual, but the visitor found it best to carry on the conversation with closed eyes, and when the time came for him to preach he became in truth a weeping prophet. The people themselves were not so rough as their surroundings. Their conversation showed them to be thoughtful persons, and some of them had received a good education. One shelf in the hut was heavily laden with books, most of them being of a solid character. These Congregationalists of the Hokkaido might well remind the visitor of those that colonised New England. The eastern boundary of their settlement was marked by a post inscribed: "Love never faileth," and the western by one on which was written: "The truth shall make you free."

Even in those sections of the country that had been brought into the closest relations with foreigners, the old feeling of bitter opposition to Christianity had not wholly passed away. The Southern Baptist Mission opened a new station in Nagasaki. At the first meeting a large crowd gathered about the doors to make a disturbance. The most abusive language was used so vociferously that even those close to the preacher could not hear what he said. It seemed so useless to continue the meeting that it was brought to a close and the doors were shut. There had been such threats of personal violence that there was fear of what might happen if another attempt should be made to open the

preaching-place. A meeting was, however, advertised for a few evenings later. Hardly had it begun before an old man came in, and after making a profound bow took his seat upon the floor. He was followed by others until the room was nearly full. Although a crowd gathered before the house, there was no disturbance. The reason for this was learned at the close of the meeting when the old man introduced himself as the chief officer of the ward, and apologised for the previous disturbance.

Among the visitors that spent only a short time in Japan, perhaps none exerted a more beneficent influence than John R. Mott, Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation. Reaching the country in November, 1896, he visited forty-two schools, and in all of them made a deep impression upon the students. At Tokyo, twelve hundred students of the Imperial University listened to his addresses, and eleven hundred young men were present at a meeting held in Kyoto. Many of the meetings took the form of evangelistic services with after-meetings, in which the way of salvation through Christ was carefully taught to those who remained. The eleven existing College Young Men's Christian Associations were greatly strengthened, and new ones that were organised increased the number to twenty-eight. About one-half were in other than the Christian schools. In January, 1897, their delegates met in Tokyo and formed a Union of the Student Young Men's Christian Associations of Japan, which the next summer was admitted to the World's Student Federation.

The number of missions was increased by the coming in November, 1896, of Elder W. C. Granger, the first representative of the Seventh-day Adventists. Elder Granger died in 1899, but by that time others had come to continue the work of this mission.

Several events occurring in 1897 brought up the old questions concerning the possibility of Christians being loyal to the Emperor. Some of them gave rise to con-

siderable discussion in the newspapers. A student was expelled from the Normal School in Yamaguchi because of a criticism he was said to have made upon the Imperial Rescript. The persecution was begun by his fellow-students, who presented the following charges against him:

"1. He says that God is superior to His Majesty the Emperor.

"2. He tries to change the Imperial Rescript so as to make it accord with his own beliefs.

"3. He reads the Bible more than his text-books.

"4. He said that after his conversion to Christianity he became more desirous than before to enter the Normal School.

"5. He talked to Sunday school children in the summer vacation.

"6. He said that he was under great responsibility to lead others to the true religion."

More attention was drawn to a case occurring in the Normal School of Niigata. Every year two of its graduates were sent to the High Normal School in Tokyo. Nominally the choice of the persons to be sent rested with the prefectural Governor, who was supposed to base the appointment upon the examination papers of candidates; but in reality the principal of the school decided the matter. The graduate that passed the best examination in 1897 was a Christian. The principal refused to appoint him, giving as a reason that Christianity was contrary to the Imperial Rescript, and hence, one holding that religion ought not to receive the honour in question. Several members of the faculty protested against the decision. The discussion soon found its way into the newspapers of Niigata; one upholding the principal, while two condemned his action. The press in other parts of the country also published articles upon the matter. Finally, at a meeting held in the school, the Governor made an address in which he rebuked the principal and declared that there was nothing antagonistic between Christianity and the Rescript. He said that, since the Constitution guaranteed religious liberty, a man's belief should not affect his promotion, which

ought to be based on ability alone. The principal's appointee had already begun his studies in Tokyo, so it seemed to the Governor that it would be unwise to recall him; but he gave assurance that the Christian could have the appointment the next year, and at once promoted him to a much better school than the one in which he had begun to teach.

A movement that attracted considerable attention because of the University professors and other scholars who were its leaders aimed at a revival of Shinto. A magazine entitled *Nihon Shugi* (Japanese Principles) was published, and the movement was popularly known by the same name. The writers contended that Japan was in danger of losing her national characteristics by wholesale borrowing from foreign countries, that an attempt must be made to arouse the nationalistic sentiments of the masses, and that the best way to do this would be by reviving the worship of the ancient gods. All Japanese Christians were challenged to give plain answers to the following questions:

"1. Can the worship of His Sacred Majesty the Emperor, which every loyal Japanese performs, be reconciled with the worship of God and Christ by Christians?

"2. Can the existence of authorities that are quite independent of the Japanese State, such as God, Christ, the Bible, the Pope, the Head of the Greek Church (the Czar), be regarded as harmless?

"3. Can a Japanese who is a faithful servant of Christ be regarded as at the same time a faithful servant of the Emperor and a true friend of His Majesty's faithful subjects? Or, to put the question in another way, is our Emperor to follow in the wake of Western emperors and to pray: 'Son of God, have mercy upon me'?

"4. Can the Christian convert answer the above questions in a manner that will satisfy our reason?"

The Christian papers ridiculed these questions as showing that loud professions of loyalty were being used as a device to uphold a weak cause. The movement, though at first pushed with considerable vigour,

soon passed from notice without having presented any formidable obstacle to the progress of Christianity.

Much began to be written about the same time by Buddhists concerning the dangers that might come to their religion when in 1899, according to the revised treaties, foreigners would be permitted to reside in any part of the country. It seemed to be the common opinion in Japan that large numbers of Europeans and Americans would hasten to avail themselves of the new privileges. A Buddhist magazine collected opinions from other periodicals of the same faith, and thus summarised them:

"I. Mixed residence will help Christianity and prove disadvantageous to Buddhism for:
"1. Christianity will gain new energy.
"2. Buddhism is like a body without a soul.
"II. The prosperity of Christianity will prevent the unity of the people:
"1. Because of collision of feeling between Buddhism and Christianity.
"2. Because of the close relations of Christianity with foreign nations.
"3. Because Christians do not place much importance upon the state.
"III. Ecclesiastical police regulations should be strictly enforced.
"IV. The establishment of religious institutions should require the approval of the Government.
"V. Labourers should not be neglected by religious teachers.
"VI. Buddhists should take advantage of education for the discipline of their minds.
"VII. Rolls of parishioners should be prepared."

In the Church of Christ in Japan (Presbyterian) the question of the relation between the presbyteries and the foreign missions was vigorously discussed. The missions asociated with this church gave financial aid to the evangelistic efforts of the presbyteries. In addition to this some missions had such work of their own, paying wholly or in part the salaries of evangelists, who were therefore under the direction of the missions concerned. This was displeasing to many of the Japanese, who wished all such work to be brought under the direction of presbyteries, and to have these entrusted with

all funds used in this way. In July, 1897, the Synod, after hearing the report of a committee which declared that it had not found "a single case of proper co-operation," passed a resolution whose preamble defined a co-operating mission as one "that plans and executes all its evangelistic operations through a committee composed of equal numbers of the representatives of a mission working within the bounds of a presbytery of the Church of Christ in Japan, and of members of said presbytery." The position of the Japanese is more fully expressed in the following words of Rev. Oshikawa Masayoshi, one of their leaders:

"Our desire is to control all evangelistic work under these proposed co-operating committees. My opinion and that of others is that the work of missions independent of presbyteries is hostile to the genuine work of the presbytery and the Church. It tends to create a missionary party composed of men of inferior class who obey the missionary and have a foreign, exotic character."

Another person said:

"This is no longer the time for missionaries to control, but they and the boards should stand off and let the Japanese control. The old slavish time must end and the Japanese Church established by the Christians of America must be followed, not led."

This last quotation shows one of the difficulties that has attended attempts at what from an Occidental standpoint would be considered co-operation. The Japanese have had but little idea of the association of partners with equal rights. In business matters one member of the firm was recognised as its head and all others were subordinate to him. He expected that his plans would be followed, even though the majority might not think his policy the best. If dissatisfaction grew too strong, either the head partner withdrew or the whole partnership came to an end. The same method prevailed in political matters; the parties being made up of those that followed such leaders as Ito, Itagaki, Okuma, etc., rather than of those whose political views were similar.

To the Japanese Christians it seemed as though in their relations with the missionaries they must be either servants or masters; that one side must acknowledge the pre-eminence of the other. Hence, it is not strange that with the increase of the nationalistic spirit the Japanese desired to make it evident that they were not controlled by the foreigners, and that everything connected in any way with their church was fully under its authority. Where the experiment of having joint committees composed of equal numbers of Japanese and foreigners was tried, it was usually found that the latter must always yield to the views of the former, or else find themselves the object of much ill-feeling, which sometimes led to efforts for undermining their work and influence.

To the missionaries it did not seem advisable to put everything out of their own hands at so early a date. They feared that the interest of the Japanese in some features of the work would lead them to neglect others of equal importance. Moreover, the placing of a large sum of money coming from foreign sources in the hands of committees such as were proposed seemed inadvisable, at least until the raising of larger amounts by the Japanese Church than it was then contributing should increase the sense of responsibility for choosing men well fitted to administer the funds. Accordingly the Council of Co-operating Missions declared its opinion that co-operation is "best carried out where the Japanese Church in its Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synod directs all ecclesiastical matters, availing itself of the counsels and assistance of missions or missionaries as occaion arises; while the missions direct their own educational, evangelistic, and other missionary operations, availing themselves, likewise, of whatever counsel and assistance they may be able to obtain from their brethren in the Japanese Church." This decision was far from pleasing to the Japanese leaders, and though open discussion of the question ceased for a while, it was actively renewed a few years later.

In considering this question of co-operation the Council was helped by the advice of Mr. Robert E. Speer, a

secretary of the (Northern) Presbyterian Board of Missions, who was spending a short time in Japan. Mr. Speer also rendered valuable aid to the missionary work in general by addresses made in several cities. Another visitor of the year was Rev. J. H. Barrows, D.D., who, as President of the World's Parliament of Religions, held at the Columbian Exhibition, had become well known to Buddhists and Shintoists as well as to Christians. Large audiences listened to his lectures, some of which were afterwards published.

In 1898 the attention of Christians and of the general public was drawn in an increasing degree to the course of events in the Doshisha. We have already seen that in the preceding year Biblical instruction had been abolished from its Ordinary Middle School and that in its graduation and other public exercises all religious features were discontinued. In order to make plain what was now done, it is necessary to look at the first chapter of the Constitution of the Doshisha, which was as follows:

"CHAPTER I.—FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

"1. This Company is established to promote moral and intellectual education in close union.

"2. The name of the Company is *The Doshisha*. All schools of the Company must have *Doshisha* as a part of their name, and this Constitution applies to them all.

"3. Christianity is the foundation of the moral education promoted by this Company.

"4. This Company is located at Kyoto.

"5. The principal of the permanent funds of the Company is not to be used under any circumstances.

"6. The above five articles are unchangeable."

Another article of the Constitution required the Trustees to promise that they would "labour for the interests of the Company in accordance with its Fundamental Principles."

The confidence that this Constitution inspired in the minds of foreign friends of the Doshisha had made

them willing to pursue the plan, which, at least on so large a scale, was unprecedented in the history of missions, of placing large sums of money for building and endowment in the hands of the natives of the country for whose benefit they were intended. It was a bold experiment. Had it worked satisfactorily, it would have had great influence on mission policy in Japan and other lands; but the course pursued by the Trustees alienated the sympathies of those who considered that their gifts had been misused, and excited the condemnation of others who felt that injustice had been done. Few Japanese upheld the action of the Trustees; and even opponents of Christianity censured them, perhaps being glad of this opportunity to declare that Christian leaders were guilty of grave dishonesty.

When the Trustees applied to the Government for privileges like those enjoyed by public schools and by a few private schools of the same grade, the officials of the Educational Department said it would be impossible to grant the request to a school that was avowedly religious; but that, if this defect could be remedied, the desired privilege would be given. The Trustees found a shrewd way in which to gain the tempting prize thus held out to them. As with Achilles, the weak point in the First Chapter of the Constitution was in its heel. It will be noticed that the Sixth Article declared the preceding five to be unchangeable. In February, 1898, it was voted to *strike out this Sixth Article,* thus leaving the others at the mercy of the Trustees. Their purpose was then accomplished by dropping from the Second Article the words: "And this Constitution applies to them all." This allowed what the President of the Doshisha called "taking down the Christian sign" by making the Third Article no longer applicable to the departments known as the Middle School, the College, the School of Law and Economics, and the Scientific School; while it was still in force with the remnant of the Theological School, which since the withdrawal of missionary teachers had been reduced to five students.

It should be said that this action was brought about by a company of men deeply imbued with the nationalistic

spirit and an extremely liberal theology. Of the ten Trustees that were present when the vote was taken, five had served less than a year, and some of the others had not for a long time taken any active interest in the Doshisha. One Trustee, who had not been present at the meeting, immediately resigned because unwilling to countenance such action, while another is said to have sent a letter of protest. The acquiescence of some others was owing to that characteristic of the Japanese which, as already noticed, gives the responsibility for the conduct of a firm or company to the one that is recognised as its head. They considered that loyalty to the President required that they allow him to carry out his own policy without let or hindrance. The only alternatives would be the deposition of the President or their own resignation, and they were not ready to take either of these steps. Hence in the discussion that followed they felt compelled to defend the action that had been taken or at least not to express any dissatisfaction with it.

An outburst of indignation followed the announcement of what had been done. In several cities the alumni of the school met and passed resolutions in which they called upon the Trustees either to rescind their action or to resign. The alumni of one city, however, voted in their favour. Some local conferences of the Kumi-ai Churches expressed strong disapproval, and soon afterwards the General Conference of all these churches passed the following resolutions:

"1. That the recent action of the Doshisha Trustees in changing the Constitution was immoral.

"2. That the Kumi-ai Churches admonish the Trustees to restore the Constitution to its original form."

The leading newspapers abounded with editorials and contributed articles concerning the Doshisha, nearly all of them condemning the action of the Trustees. These, in trying to propitiate public opinion, offered various explanations of their deed. They asserted that whatever obligations there might be to foreign donors of funds to the school, these must yield precedence to what was due to Japan itself. Considerable money had come from Japanese who had no interest in Christianity, and in fu-

ture years more and more dependence must be placed upon such support. The views of the missionaries ought no longer to control. The time had come for deciding whether the Doshisha was a Japanese or a foreign institution. It was folly to speak of an unchangeable constitution. Even the constitutions of great nations are amended from time to time, and that of a school must be adapted to changing circumstances. Though the Christian sign had been taken down, the reality remained. Had not the Constitution been amended, there would have been left little except the sign, for it would have been impossible to retain many students. The teachers were now exerting a religious influence over the pupils. On Sundays there were preaching services and Bible classes for those that wished to attend them. Thus the real Christian character of the school was retained and was even stronger than before. Was it not better to be exerting Christian influence over a large number of young men than to have empty buildings, even though the latter displayed the sign, "This is a Christian institution"?

In regard to these last arguments it must be said that in the opinion of most persons the general religious and moral condition of the school did not justify the assertion that Christian influences were strong. Some said, also, that if the statements made by the Trustees when trying to propitiate Christian opinion were correct, then the promise made to the Educational Department was being violated. Thus the *Japan Mail* said: "Either the pledge has not been kept in good faith, or the paramount object of the school has been abandoned. Either the Japanese authorities are the victims of deception or the American contributors have been deceived."

Most of the foreign contributions to the Doshisha had either been given directly by the American Board or obtained through its influence. Accordingly this society felt that it ought to do all in its power to prevent such marked perversion of funds. It sent out as its legal representative, Hon. N. W. McIvor, who had at a former period been the United States Consul General in Japan. The reputation that he had gained in his term of office, and his acquaintance with prominent men, gave him

special fitness for a task in which he showed great skill and tact. Besides his efforts to make the Trustees see the mistake they had made, he enlisted the interest of some high officials in the case. Some of these were men who had highly esteemed Dr. Neesima and contributed to the fund that he collected for the Doshisha. Mr. McIvor was able to show them that the nation itself was likely to suffer from what had occurred. Foreigners were adducing the case of the Doshisha as a proof that the Japanese were not to be trusted in financial matters. In one case a commercial company that tried to raise funds in America had been met with the objection that after what had taken place in Kyoto no one could have faith in the Japanese. Courteously, but firmly, Mr. McIvor said that, unless a satisfactory settlement could be made in some other way, he should feel compelled to bring the matter into the courts. He was aware that the condition of Japanese law rendered the prospect of success very dubious; but that would not prevent him from pushing the matter, if necessary, to the Supreme Court. The foreign merchants, who had been almost unanimously opposed to the new treaties that put their interests under Japanese law, were urging Mr. McIvor to do this, for they thought that thus their own contention that the laws were defective would be proved to the world. Count Okuma, who was then Prime Minister, had before Mr. McIvor's coming, expressed disapproval of the Trustees, and it was evident to him as to others that it would be very unfortunate for the reputation of Japan to have the case made so prominent. A judgment in favour of the Trustees would be more disastrous than one against them, since it would show that Japanese law did not provide sufficient security for entrusted funds. Hopes were entertained that the Department of Education would grant religious freedom to private schools, and that this would help to bring about a satisfactory arrangement with the Trustees; but just then the Ministry went out of office. Count Okuma, however, continued to take an active interest in the affairs of the Doshisha and helped in bringing about a settlement. In December the Trustees decided to resign, and another

board was elected that adopted a new Constitution, embodying the principles of the original one. It must be said in praise of the resigning Trustees that in the end they acted in a most courteous manner, providing a way by which the transfer to their successors was made easy.*

One of the new Trustees of the Doshisha was Rev. Tomeoka Kosuke, a graduate of the Theological Department, who had formerly been one of the Christian teachers of morals employed in the prisons of the Hokkaido. Afterwards he had spent two years in the United States. For several months he was in the Reformatory at Concord, Massachusetts, living for the most part the life of the prisoners themselves, though retaining his liberty. He ate their food, laboured with them in the workshops, and in other ways gained a clear idea of the practical working of the institution. He also spent six months in the office of the Secretary of the New York Prison Association. By the time that he returned to Japan, a change of officials had put an end to the work of Christian teachers in the Hokkaido prisons. Mr. Tomeoka therefore became the pastor of a church in Tokyo, and the editor of a Christian paper. About the beginning of 1898 the newly appointed warden of the Sugamo Prison in Tokyo, found that there were connected with it three Buddhist priests whose duties consisted in the reading of prayers and the preaching of sermons. He decided to dismiss two of these and to appoint Mr. Tomeoka as an instructor in morals. As soon as this became known, the temple to which the priests belonged said that it would not allow the last one to remain and share his duties with the teacher of a foreign faith. At the same time a high official of the sect addressed a letter to the Minister of Home Affairs, inquring whether, in view of the fact that Buddhism was the publicly recognised religion of Japan, while Chris-

* Again I must express regret that these events could not have been passed over in silence. It has been necessary to speak plainly, or otherwise it would be impossible to explain why they attracted so much attention and why public opinion was so nearly unanimous in condemnation of what was done by the Trustees. I hope that my personal interest in the matter has not made this account of it unfair to any person.

tianity was merely a private belief adopted by individuals, the Minister approved of the ignoring of this distinction at Sugamo and the placing of both religions upon the same footing. Other temples and sects joined in remonstrating against what had been done; and the Buddhist Young Men's Association issued a circular letter threatening that, if the authorities did not withdraw the Christian teacher, a violent agitation would be begun against the Government. The Buddhists won a partial victory, for the warden was removed to another prison. It was said at the time that Mr. Tomeoka, following a suggestion from the Department of Home Affairs, given through the Chief of Police, sent in his resignation. However that may have been, he continued for some time to act as teacher in the prison, and after a while was made an instructor in the School for Prison Officials, a position in which he was able to accomplish much for prison reform, while he also had time to open before long a school for the reform of wayward children. In connection with this last he afterwards had a training-school for officials who were to engage in reformatory work.

It will be noticed that in the remonstrance against Mr. Tomeoka's appointment Buddhism was spoken of in terms that virtually asserted its claim to be considered the state religion; and about that time there began an agitation in favour of its receiving acknowledgment as such. A club was formed whose membership was open to those belonging to any Buddhist sect, or, "whose hearts have felt the influence of Buddhism." Among its objects were: "To induce the Government to recognise Buddhism publicly; to urge the Government to proclaim clearly and speedily the policy it intends to pursue towards religion; to persuade the Government to take the publicly recognised faith under its protection, subjecting it at the same time to strict supervision; and to work for the spread of Buddhism, thrusting aside every one, whether official or layman, who attempts to place obstacles in the path." A representation was sent to the next Parliament urging such action as would insure that in future only such persons as were followers of the

state religion should be appointed in the prisons as instructors in morals.

The Unitarian Mission stood so apart from the others that it may be well to learn, by an extract from a report made in 1898, how it estimated the results of its efforts:

"The Unitarian Mission has been a unique experiment, and in so far as it has been faithful to its original purpose, it has achieved an almost dramatic success. In its inception it was a frank departure from the customary aim and method of foreign missionary work. It was commissioned 'not to convert but to confer.' The great Christian missionary societies have always gone to work in a spirit of patronage. They have regarded non-Christian people as the Hebrew prophets regarded the idolators of Edom and Moab. They have taken literally the Scriptural injunction, 'Go preach to all nations repentance.' Our Mission has proclaimed a new missionary motive. It has sought to discover the good in all existing forms of faith. It has recognised the underlying sympathy in all religions, and emphasised unities rather than diversities. It has wrought in the spirit of Paul in his great missionary speech at Athens, proclaiming the unknown God already ignorantly worshipped, using the existing symbols and the sayings of local poets to reinforce the new message. Our Mission has not tried to free men from one superstition by inviting them into another superstition. It has refrained from arrogance and taunt of error, but with respect for all that is good in the Japanese systems of thought and faith, it has invited friendly conference and co-operation, and acquainted thinking Japanese with the adaptability of liberal Christianity to the spiritual needs of the lusty empire. If it has done no more than to show that Christianity also means kindliness, courtesy, and sympathy toward a foreign people and faith, it has served a good purpose; but besides this it has done a work of great practical value and attracted the attention, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, of many of the best minds in Japan. The expense of conducting this unique experiment has decreased more rapidly than is usually the case with our home missionary work. Five years ago the Japan Mission cost over $10,000 annually; last year, without suffering any appreciable loss in efficiency, it cost a little more than half that sum; next year its activities will be entirely supported by the income of the Hayward fund, which, under the terms of the bequest, must be spent for foreign missions, the only charge upon the unrestricted income of the Association being the salary of the director."

The new treaties made with Western nations permitted the citizens of those countries to travel and reside in any

part of Japan after July, 1899. Many of the Japanese had exaggerated ideas about the number of persons that would avail themselves of this privilege. The Buddhists became very much excited over the dangers that confronted them in the coming of so many persons not of their religion. Buddhist magazines abounded with appeals to the people not to be led away by the foreigners. In at least one section of the country prominent priests visited all the cities and towns to hold "preparation meetings" in anticipation of the coming invasion. The burden of the speeches was "Resist the foreign religion," and an old custom was revived requiring that a man who moved into a community should present a document from a temple in his former residence certifying that he was not a follower of the "evil way."

The new conditions did indeed favour the entrance of missionaries into the interior, for residence there was no longer conditioned on their being in the employ of Japanese. The doing away with the necessity for passports permitting travel seemed like the removal of fetters that had impeded freedom of movement. In reality, most of the annoyances connected with the passports had been ended by the Government as soon as the revised treaties were signed (1894) and without waiting for the time when they came into effect.

In August, 1899, the Government issued regulations concerning private schools. One article declared that "A private school, unless it is qualified to serve as a substitute for a public school, shall not have the right to admit a child of school-going age who has not discharged his educational obligations." This, as at first interpreted, would have led to the exclusion from Christian schools of all children under fourteen years of age. As a consequence, a number of primary schools were discontinued. After many interviews with officials, some others were allowed to continue under certain conditions.

More troublesome was the following "Instruction" issued by the Educational Department on the same day with the above regulations: "It being essential from the point of view of educational administration that general

education should be independent of religion, religious instruction must not be given or religious ceremonies performed at Government Schools, Public Schools, or schools whose curricula are regulated by provisions of law, even outside the regular course of instruction."

Many Christian schools had found it desirable to secure recognition from the Department of Education, as this made it possible for their graduates to enter the national colleges and universities, and in some cases for their pupils to postpone the time of military service. All this must now be given up, or else religious teaching and worship must be discontinued. A committee of Japanese and foreigners, representing the leading Christian schools, presented a memorial to the Minister of Education, and held interviews with prominent men. The secular press for the most part condemned the action of the Department. The regulations for private schools were soon so far relaxed that so-called "special schools" of primary grade could obtain licenses and were given full liberty for religious teaching. It was also decided that the "Instructions" should be so interpreted that, by considering the dormitories as distinct from the schools, religious instruction could be given in the former. This was so unsatisfactory to most of the higher institutions that they gave up their connection with the national system.

It should be noticed that the regulations affected Buddhist as well as Christian schools. It was the policy of the Government to favour a complete divorce between education and religion. Another evidence of the Government's desire to treat all religions alike was shown in a notification that was issued from the Home Department to persons engaged in religious propagandism. It prescribed rules to be observed by those seeking permission from local officials to erect "a house for religious uses, a church, a lecture-hall, or a preaching-place." This was equivalent to putting Christianity on a basis similar to that on which other religions stood, and in accordance with this policy the Government presented to Parliament a bill for the regulation of religions, which, as we shall see, gave great offence to Buddhists.

The *Fukuin Maru* (Gospel Ship), a schooner of sixty-eight tons register that had been presented by a Scotch ship-owner to the American Baptist Missionary Union, was dedicated September 13, 1899, and at once set forth under the charge of Captain Luke W. Bickel to carry the Gospel message to the many islands scattered through the Inland Sea. It soon proved itself an efficient instrument for reaching many communities whose separation from the main land had hitherto prevented their evangelisation. A report that apparently covers a period of not more than three or four months, tells of visits to thirteen islands, and says:

"These islands contain a population of 110,000 souls distributed among 123 towns and villages, 113 of which we have been able to reach by tract distributing, small talks, and public meetings. In these places we have held upward of fifty prearranged public meetings with an attendance of 150 to 500 per meeting. In addition, about sixty small meetings in farm yards, on the beach, in small factories, have been held with an attendance of about fifteen to fifty at a meeting. . . . Among these 113 places we have found one in which, on one occasion, a Gospel address has been given. We have found one believer and heard of one more. We have met certainly not more than fifty persons among the thousands with whom we have come in personal contact who have ever heard a Gospel address or received a tract. Out of the thirteen islands we have reached, eleven were last visited by a foreigner in 1869, when the islands were temporarily surveyed." *

As has already been noted, Japan had tried to regulate the social evil by licensing courtesans and houses of ill-fame. New regulations, issued in 1896, required that "a woman who wishes to become a courtesan must send in a written petition for license to the police station having jurisdiction." This petition was to be accompanied by "a document of consent signed and sealed by the applicant's father or mother, or by her nearest relative if she is an orphan. The paper must state the period of service contracted for and the amount of money received as a loan."

Although this made the act nominally that of the girl herself, and though the money received from the brothel-

* *Japan Evangelist*, July, 1900.

keeper was styled a loan to be paid back from her earnings, the reality was that she was sold by her parents, or other relatives, into the most debasing slavery. Moreover, while a term of service was mentioned in the document, the girls were kept in debt so that their slavery continued so long as they were profitable to their owners.

We have recorded the agitation that for a while had been vigorously conducted against this system by the Christians. Unfortunately the movement was short-lived, and in only two prefectures was the licensing system abolished. In 1899 a new movement in a city that was a stronghold of the evil began to attract attention. Rev. U. G. Murphy, of the Methodist Protestant Mission, who resided in Nagoya, had noticed in the local papers several items that told of prostitutes who had attempted to escape from their masters, but had been captured and returned by the police. Enquiry showed him that it was almost impossible for a girl to obtain her freedom, however much she might detest the life that she was leading. He was not able to find a single case where the girl had been able to pay her debts, and it was considered that so long as anything was due she was bound by contract to continue the business.. The prefectural laws recognised the validity of the contracts by providing that a girl could not go away until her master gave consent. While still looking up these facts, Mr. Murphy's attention was accidentally called to the following sections of the new civil code of 1898:

"Majority is attained at twenty years of age."

"Legal acts having for their object that which is contrary to public order or morality are invalid."

It was decided to test the possibility of securing through these articles a decision in favour of prostitutes who wished to escape. With considerable care a girl was selected who sent to the police a notification that she wished to cease business from a certain date. The police found an excuse for not receiving it, and in later proceedings they put various obstacles in the way of the reformers. When an appeal was made to the courts, the keepers of the brothels united in choosing a committee to oppose the girl's release. The powerful influence of the

Buddhist temples—for Nagoya was a stronghold of Buddhism as of vice—was enlisted on their side. When the court ordered that the girl be set at liberty, the police refused to enforce the order, since, though based on national laws, it was contrary to local regulations; and their position was approved by the Governor of the prefecture. While the attention of the Central Government was being called to this strange action, further proceedings were made impossible by the poor girl's yielding to a deceptive compromise proposed by the keeper.

Soon after this a girl ran away from Nara and sought refuge in the house of a pastor in Nagoya. One day, when she was at Mr. Murphy's house to meet persons interested in her case, she was kidnapped and forced into a *jinrikisha,* which with one man to pull and two to push it, hurried away. When Mr. Murphy was called, he rushed out of the house as he was, bareheaded and with slippered feet, jumped on a bicycle, and gave chase. He soon caught up with the *jinrikisha,* but was unable to get possession of the girl because of eight or ten men who opposed him. Notwithstanding the attempt of the men to hold him back, he followed on until he came to a policeman, who took the whole party to the police station. The girl was then allowed to return with Mr. Murphy. Afterwards she was sentenced to ten days' imprisonment for running away from her keeper, a sentence that on appeal was reduced to a fine of one *yen.* Her former master thought it best not to make further trouble and the girl thus obtained her freedom.

Other cases soon followed. The newspapers throughout the country began to discuss the questions involved. The *Mainichi Shimbun,* one of the leading journals of Tokyo, became an earnest advocate for the removal of restrictions upon prostitutes who wished to obtain their freedom, and its editor in other ways took an active part in the campaign that followed. The agitation reached its height in 1900. The Supreme Court decided that, if local regulations made the brothel-keeper's signature necessary to a prostitute's declaration of her desire to leave him, he must accede to her demand that he affix it. In some cases mobs prevented the escape of girls or

assailed those that tried to help them. A Japanese pastor in Shizuoka was for this reason severely beaten, and some blows fell upon a missionary who tried to shield him. Two homes for the reception of the refugees were opened. One was under the care of the Salvation Army, which, in order to let the girls of Tokyo know what was being done in their behalf, sent into the prostitute quarters a detachment of its followers to distribute tracts and to urge all who wished to lead a better life to come to the headquarters of the Army. The brothel-keepers hired a company of roughs, who attacked these crusaders and wounded some of them. Persons connected with newspapers were also assaulted, so that it was said to be dangerous for any person who looked as though he might be a newspaper correspondent or a Salvationist to go into those sections of the city. The office of a paper that had favoured the liberation movement was attacked by a mob that destroyed much of its property. Some who had been patrons of the brothels had their consciences quickened or their fears aroused; for it is said that for a time there was an average decrease of over two thousand *per noctem* in the number of visitors to the prostitute quarters of Tokyo.

The intervention of the Home Department was sought by both the reformers and their opponents, the victory finally resting with the former. A set of regulations was issued by which all it was necesssary for a girl to do was to make a statement, written or verbal, to the police that she wished to cease from her trade. In the case of minors, the parents or guardians might make the request, even against the wishes of the girls, and they must then be set free. Severe penalties were decreed for any interference with the liberty of the girls. Statistics that were official in forty-one out of forty-seven prefectures, showed the following changes in the number of licensed prostitutes.

1896	39,097	
1897	47,055	(20 per cent. increase)
1898	50,553	(7.7 " " ")
1899	52,274	(3 " " ")
1901	40,195	(23 " " decrease)

The statistics for 1900 were not collated. Doubtless various causes combined to produce the change shown in 1901; but prominent among them must be those connected with the agitation and with the new regulations. It must be remembered that the figures given above include only the licensed prostitutes. In addition, there were about 30,000 *geisha,* many of whom differed but little from those of the other class. There were also many unlicensed prostitutes. Statements concerning their probable numbers have greatly varied, prejudices in favour of the licensing system or against it having doubtless affected the estimates. It was asserted by many that the freeing of the courtesans would increase the amount of immorality; but the arrests for illegal prostitution showed a decrease of twenty per cent. from 1899 to 1901. Doubtless many of the unlicensed prostitutes were held by masters under much the same system as were those that were licensed; and the knowledge of what was being done by the latter class encouraged the former to break away.

It is noteworthy that, as in the former movement against the licensing system, most of the Buddhist papers and leaders set themselves against the reformers. An example of this was seen in a grand campaign in behalf of Buddhism that was conducted in some of the provinces by "The Great Association for Honouring the Emperor and Preserving Buddhism," whose organisation has previously been mentioned. Interspersed among addresses explaining Buddhist doctrines and denouncing Christianity were others bearing such titles as "The Sinfulness of the Salvation Army's Crusade against Licensed Prostitution," "Is the Salvation Army a Lantern-carrier [helper] to Secret Prostitution" "The Immorality of Allowing Licensed Prostitutes freely to Stop their Business," etc. While such action might help to retain the favour of brothel-keepers, who in some places were liberal contributors to the temples, it did much to discredit Buddhism in the minds of those who desired the purification of public morals.

In 1900 the Buddhists were much excited over what was known as the "Bill concerning Religions," which the

Government had proposed the preceding year to Parliament. This was based on the legislation found in some German states, and was framed in a liberal spirit. It placed Christianity on an equality with Buddhism and Shintoism. This was directly contrary to the movement inaugurated by a large section of Buddhists, who hoped to get their own system recognised as the state religion. In Tokyo, and other cities, mass-meetings were held to protest against the passage of the bill. Objection was made, not only because it put all religions on the same footing, but also because it lessened the authority of the main temples over their branches. This would make it more difficult for the former to raise funds from their subordinates. The Eastern Division of the great Shin sect, which was burdened by a large debt, was a leader in the agitation, while the Western Division supported the bill. It was commonly believed, and by one party within its own fold was openly charged, that the Eastern Division spent large sums of money in bribing members of the Upper House and so succeeded in preventing the passage of the bill.

The general tendency of thought seemed at this time to become more favourable to Christianity. This was in part because of the reproach that Buddhism was bringing upon itself by opposition to the Bill concerning Religions and to reform movements, and in part was due to a growing conviction that, at least for the common people, some religious belief was necessary in order to prevent moral deterioration. There was a marked advance in the circulation of the Scriptures; the number of Bibles, Testaments, and "portions" distributed in 1900, being 137,422 copies, an increase of 39,000 over that of the preceding year. Very few of these were given away. It may be noticed in passing that Japan was becoming a centre for the multiplication of copies of the Scriptures; editions in the Chinese, Korean, and Thibetan languages and in two dialects of the Philippine Islands, being printed at this time in Japan.

In the Japanese army, one hundred and fifty-five officers, or about three per cent. of the whole number, were

known as Christians. In the navy, the two 12,500 ton battle-ships, the largest with one exception of those then in commission, were at the beginning of 1900 under the command of Christians. One of these, Rear Admiral Serata, died in the summer. He had for many years been known as an active Christian. When on shore duty in Tokyo, he had not only taught classes in the Sunday school, but he also had on Saturday afternoons in his own house, a class of young men, whom he instructed in Christian truth. He was President of the Tokyo Young Men's Christian Association. On naval cruises, when his vessel touched at different ports, he would go with other Christian officers to hunt up any church that could be found, and his public addresses given in such places often gave great encouragement to little companies of believers and called the attention of the citizens to a religion that they had hitherto thought beneath their notice. He was much interested in Biblical and theological studies. The Gospel of John had been his favourite book, and it is said that his knowledge of it was far beyond that of most preachers. When stationed at Weihaiwei at the close of the war with China, he gave much of his leisure to a study of Canon Gore's book on "The Incarnation of the Son of God." His funeral under the auspices of the Navy Department was conducted with Christian rites, the arrangements being given into the care of Vice-Admiral Uryu, a life-long friend and a fellow-Christian.

In January, 1900, a convention of those interested in Christian schools was held in Tokyo, one hundred and thirty-eight persons being present. The chief interest centred about the question of religious instruction in mission schools. The policy of the Educational Department was declared to be unjust and contrary to the spirit of the National Constitution. It was not very long, however, before the Department so changed the regulations that private schools which in the judgment of the Minister maintained a standard equal to that of a national "middle school" could obtain for their students a postponement of military service, while their graduates could

be admitted to examination for the "higher schools" on the same terms as those of government institutions. Thus were done away the disabilities that had rested on those schools that, on account of religious instruction, were unable to affiliate themselves with the national system.

Some of the Christian Endeavour Societies organised after the visit of Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D., in 1892, had ceased to exist, and others manifested but little activity. A second visit of Dr. Clark in 1900 gave the movement renewed life and led to its more perfect organisation. Since then, the annual conventions of the national society have been more fully attended, and the monthly mazagine that serves as an official organ has by its increased circulation helped to make the local societies more effective.

In March, 1900, Rev. Clay MacCauley, D.D., who had for some time been the only representative of the Unitarian Mission, committed the work to the Japanese adherents and returned to America. In a farewell address, after contrasting the spirit of the Unitarians with that of others, he said:

"We are the first to leave the country on account of action taken by the Japanese. They have entered upon an autonomous commercial and practical life, and we have urged them to another life also autonomous—an autonomous religious life. And I think such a life growing out of the people themselves will be permanent because it is of the people and not from without, and that it will grow and prosper." *

The income from a fund in America continued to be used for the sustenance of the work at Unity Hall, and the support of a Japanese superintendent. The organisation that had been effected was not considered a church, but rather an association of persons who, belonging to any church or to none, were united by similar sentiments and aspirations. Their interest was more in matters connected with social and ethical reforms than in those that were distinctively religious.

The Third General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan was held October 24-31, 1900, in the hall

* *Japan Weekly Mail,* March 10, 1900.

of the Tokyo Young Men's Christian Association. Nearly four hundred missionaries residing in Japan were present, besides some fifty from China and other countries. Rev. J. D. Davis, D.D., was the Chairman; Rev. W. Andrews, Rev. W. Imbrie, D.D., and Rev. D. S. Spencer, being the Vice-Chairmen. In addition to papers and discussions by missionaries, Hon. Ando Taro spoke on the subject of temperance, Mr. Hara Taneaki concerning work for ex-convicts, and Hon. Shimada Saburo on the movement in favour of abolishing licensed prostitution. Among the resolutions of permanent interest were one recommending missionaries to co-operate with the Japanese in special evangelistic efforts to be made in connection with the opening of the twentieth century, one providing for the appointment of a committee to decide on a uniform translation of about one hundred of the most important hymns, and a series upon the subject of union and co-operation. As these last led to considerable discussion and to the appointment of an important committee, they may be quoted in full:

"1. This Conference of Missionaries assembled in the city of Tokyo proclaims its firm belief that all those who are one with Christ by faith are one body; and it calls upon all who love the Lord Jesus and His Church in sincerity and truth to pray and to labour for the full realisation of such corporate oneness as the Master Himself prayed for on that night in which He was betrayed.

"2. Whereas, while this Conference gratefully recognises the high degree of harmony and cordial co-operation which has marked the history of Protestant missions in Japan, it is at the same time convinced that the work of evangelisation is often retarded by an unhappy competition, especially in the smaller fields, and by the duplication of machinery which our present arrangements involve; therefore

"3. Resolved, that this Conference elect upon the nomination of the President and Vice-Presidents a promoting committee of ten whose duty it shall be to prepare a plan for the formation of a representative Standing Committee of the Missions, such plan to be submitted to the various missions for their approval and to go into operation as soon as approved by such a number of missions as include in their membership not less than two-thirds of the Protestant missionaries in Japan."

Great harmony prevailed throughout the Conference; but the discussions were full, frank, and earnest. A re-

port of the proceedings was afterwards published with extensive supplements, the resulting volume being invaluable for those studying the history of Protestant missions in Japan, and for those who wish to know how the missionaries at the close of the nineteenth century looked upon the questions that were then claiming their attention.

The following are some of the important items in the statistics of Protestant missions for 1900:

Married male missionaries	215
Unmarried male missionaries	30
Unmarried female missionaries	257
Organised churches	416
Of these wholly self-supporting	71
Adults baptised or confirmed in the year	3,195
Children baptised	678
Members of churches	43,273
Day schools	74
Pupils	5,111
Boys' boarding schools	15
Pupils	1,898
Girls' boarding schools	44
Pupils	2,962
Theological schools	14
Pupils	98
Sunday schools	864
Pupils	33,039
Ordained Japanese ministers	306
Unordained ministers and helpers (male)	518
Bible-women	289
Hospitals and dispensaries	14
In-patients treated in year	2,268
Out-patients treated in year	26,729
Contributions of native churches for year ..... *Yen*	107,459

VIII

THE OPENING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

1901-1903

ALTHOUGH the system of dating years from the birth of Christ had not become common even among the Christians of Japan, so much was said in Western journals about the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century that the Japanese could not fail to be affected by the thought that a new chapter in the world's history was being opened. In Great Britain and America various forms of religious activity were inaugurated under the name of "twentieth century forward movements," and we have already seen that the Conference of Protestant Missionaries, held in Tokyo, had recommended co-operation with the Japanese Christians in special evangelistic efforts to be begun in 1901. A committee was chosen by the missionaries to join with one appointed by the Japanese Evangelical Alliance in making the necessary arrangements. While most of the churches and Christian workers united in the movement, those commonly known as "liberal" were excluded by the rules that the Alliance adopted. These rules led to considerable criticism, not only by those that held liberal views, but also by some others who thought it unwise to shut out any that were willing to join such efforts as were proposed. Some of the methods adopted were either new or had hitherto been used only by such organisations as the Salvation Army. It was necessary in the first place to prepare the Christians by arousing their zeal and securing their active participation in the movement; then public attention had to be secured and the people brought together that they might hear the Gospel. In the neighbourhood of the place where meetings were to

be held, striking placards were posted to advertise the services. Notices of the meetings were inserted in the newspapers and special letters of invitation were sent to persons that were thought most open to Christian influences. Sometimes there was a house to house visitation. For an hour or two before a meeting was to commence, companies of believers marched through the streets, carrying banners and lanterns, singing Christian hymns, and distributing printed invitations to the meeting. The younger members of the church were the most active in these processions; but pastors, evangelists, missionaries, business men, and others did not consider it beneath their diginity to fall into the ranks and take a part in gathering an audience. Whether or not those critics were right who thought these methods led people of the better class to despise Christianity, and so did as much harm as good, it is certain that Christianity once more secured the attention which it had largely lost and that large audiences were gathered. Though some had feared that only a noisy rabble would be brought together, the audiences listened quietly to what was said and the meetings were seldom disturbed in any way. The addresses were usually simple and direct. Many preachers who had before delighted in giving learned dissertations upon themes that perhaps had but slight relations to Christ's teaching now found out the power that there is in the earnest and plain teaching of the Gospel. Near the close of each meeting, those that were willing to express a desire to learn more about the Christian religion were asked to sign papers giving their names and residences. These papers were distributed among the churches so that the persons might be visited in their homes. It was customary to have a second service for those that wished to remain after the large audience had been dismissed. It must be remembered that a large proportion of those brought into the meetings had hitherto heard little or nothing of Christianity, and so these second meetings were much different from those that are held after evangelistic services in Christian lands. Many of those that remained did so from curiosity or with but very slight thought of Christianity as having personal claims

upon them. Many, too, of those that signed the papers had no eager desire for further information. It was unfortunate that the use of the words "enquirers" or "seekers" for such persons led many in Christian lands and some in Japan itself to have exaggerated ideas of what was being accomplished. In Tokyo, after a campaign of about six weeks, the number of those enrolled as "converts and seekers" was over five thousand. Reports for the whole country were not obtained, but the statistics of this "forward movement" for the year 1901 showed that, so far as the efforts of 376 churches were concerned, there had been an attendance of 322,245 at the meetings, with 15,440 enquirers and converts,* and 1,181 baptisms.

The indirect benefits of this movement were many. It gave new courage to the Christians, it led them to more activity than they had been manifesting in recent years, and it increased the spirit of Christian unity by leading those of different denominations to work together to an extent hitherto unknown. Some of the methods adopted were either in their original forms, or with such modifications as experience suggested, used afterwards in other evangelistic movements. In some places the Buddhists were aroused to imitate in this, as they had in so many other things, the methods used by the Christians.

The general evangelistic movement of this period was helped by two workers from America. One of these was Mr. J. L. Mott, who, as on his former visit in 1896, exerted a strong influence upon students. In Tokyo, among other audiences, he had one of eight hundred students belonging to the Imperial University, eighty-four of whom declared their purpose to follow Christ. The method usually pursued by Mr. Mott was first to address a general audience of students upon some subject that led the way for speaking of their need of power that would help them to meet temptation and live righteous lives. Those that wished to learn more specifically of the way such power could be gained through Christ were

* Those persons are included that signed papers in connection with Mr. Mott's meetings hereafter to be described.

asked to remain for a second meeting. After another earnest address, those that were ready to declare a desire and purpose to become disciples of Christ, taking Him as their personal Saviour and Lord, were asked to raise their hands. After the meaning of this declaration had been carefully explained, cards were passed to receive the names of those that still wished to make it. In order that a third meeting might be held with these alone, other persons were then dismissed. It will be seen that great care was taken that none should give in their names without knowing what was expected of them. Most of these students had in other ways heard more or less about Christianity, so that its teachings were not wholly new to them. At the eighteen meetings held in different educational centres, 1,464 persons signed the cards. In each city a committee was chosen to look after these enquirers, to get them into Bible classes and in other ways to follow up the work. In addition to direct evangelistic services, Mr. Mott gave in the halls of several national high schools an address on "The Influence of Christianity among the Students of All Lands." It is said that he was the first distinctively religious worker invited to speak in the Imperial University at Tokyo. Early in 1902, Rev. R. A. Torrey spent a short time in Japan. He also led many persons to express their determination to be Christians. Both of these workers, and others that came after them, accomplished much permanent good; yet it is easy to be misled by the numerical reports of converts and enquirers. Speaking through interpreters to audiences having but very dim conceptions of a personal God and unaccustomed to put into the Japanese terms any such meanings as the speakers had in mind when they used the English words "sin," "salvation," "repentance," and "holiness," it is not strange that these evangelists, who often held but one or two meetings in a city, failed to attain results commensurate with the hopes raised in their minds by the large number of cards signed by their auditors. In following up the supposed converts, it was found that many of those that signed cards were already members of churches, some had given false names and addresses that could not be found, and

some others were not thoroughly in earnest. One disappointing feature was that many of those students that had apparently been honest in signing the cards were unwilling to have anything to do with churches, pastors, evangelists, or other Christians. Sometimes in a school where there was a Young Men's Christian Association, they were disinclined to identify themselves openly with Christianity by joining that organisation. Losing the help that would come through association with fellow-believers and the instruction of older Christians, they made little if any advance in the religious life. Apparently they had been attracted more by the personality of the men whose addresses had interested them than by the Christ whom the speakers proclaimed. Hence it was that afterwards when enquiries were made about these persons, the reply would be given: "Oh, he is a Mott Christian," or, "He is a Torrey Christian." In writing these things there is no desire to overlook the great good that was done by Messrs. Mott, Torrey, and others; but it is necessary to recognise that their failure to appreciate the readiness of the Japanese to sign cards or make other signs of consenting to what was urged by effective speakers, led them to give readers of their reports exaggerated ideas of what had been accomplished. Missionaries that had long lived in the country were also misled at first by the large numbers of those that signed cards. This method of trying to keep in touch with those influenced by evangelistic services had been used but little before the inauguration of the "Forward Movement," and the hesitation formerly shown by the Japanese about doing anything that might connect them with the Christian religion led to the supposition that only those thoroughly in earnest would go so far as to give in their names, even though it were only as an expression of desire for further instruction.

Disinclination to join a church was not uncommon among young men who yet considered themselves believers. While in most cases this may have been a sign of a lack of religious earnestness, it would be unfair to say that it was always so. One of the most popular Christian writers, who exerted what was in many re-

spects a helpful influence upon young men, was a person of such a temperament as made it difficult for him to work with others. A sharp critic of what he believed to be defects in the churches, he held himself aloof from them and advised others to do the same. The national characteristics of the Japanese often incline them to prefer the position of free lances or lead them to break away from an organisation when there is anything connected with it that is not in accord with their own desires.

In the period covered by this chapter there were visits by other evangelists from abroad; such as Rev. G. F. Pentecost, D.D.; Rev. F. Franson; Rev. Grattan Guinness, D.D.; and others. There also arose among the Japanese themselves a class of evangelists who, by combining their knowledge of foreign methods with that of the language and characteristics of their own people, were fitted to exert a great influence and to achieve good results. One of the first to become prominent in this line of work was Mr. Kimura Seimatsu. He had spent several years in America, where he came under D. L. Moody's influence and received instruction in the Chicago Bible Institute established by the latter. There were now in the cities where the Gospel had long been proclaimed many persons who had as children been taught in Sunday schools, or who had in other ways learned about Christ, but who had never made a definite decision to be His followers; and it was among such persons that these evangelists could do their most effective work by leading them to make an open profession of their desire to be disciples of Christ. Others to whom the message was new were also attracted to the meetings and led to a belief in the truths that were so earnestly proclaimed.

As a part of the general evangelistic movement of this period and as exemplifying some of its methods, mention may be made of the work carried on during a National Exhibition that was held in Osaka from March 1 to July 31, 1903. A committee appointed by the Missionary Association of Central Japan obtained a building that was situated on the open square before the main entrance to the Exhibition. On its roof was placed a large sign with the invitation, "Come and see," while

other signs upon the front of the building bore the name "Christian Union Evangelistic Hall," or were inscribed with appropriate passages of Scripture. The lower story contained an audience-room and a stand for the sale of Christian literature. The Japanese churches joined with the missionaries in raising the money required for expenses and in furnishing the necessary workers. The first two weeks the different denominations united in a joint conduct of the meetings, and the same plan was adopted for the last three days of the Exhibition; but the rest of the time was divided between Baptist, Congregationalist, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Presbyterian groups of churches, each being responsible for two periods of a fortnight in length. With slight variations the method adopted was somewhat as follows: in the morning, as soon as the number of people passing through the square made it probable that an audience could be gathered, some of the workers stood before the hall and sang a few hymns, the favourite one and the most effective being set to the stirring tune of "Marching through Georgia." Sometimes a cornet or an accordion added to the volume of sound. By the help of a megaphone an invitation was given to attend the meeting. The floor of the building was on a level with the ground and, as most of the front was open, persons could easily step inside. When a sufficient number had entered, the meeting commenced. In addition to songs, there were two short, pointed addresses, after which papers and pencils were carried through the audience so that those who desired further instruction concerning Christianity might give their names and residences. Tracts were then distributed and the audience dismissed, the whole service having lasted from half to three-quarters of an hour. By that time the number of people in the square had so increased that it usually took only four or five minutes to fill the hall for another meeting. On days when the largest crowds were visiting the Exhibition, there was an almost constant succession of these meetings from nine o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock at night. The audiences were quiet and respectful, there being only two or three occasions when individuals made any objection to what

was said. The whole attendance at the Exhibition was about four million, and, as that of the meetings was 246,000, it may be said that about one in sixteen of the visitors had the Gospel preached to him. There must have been many others that stood outside the hall and listened for a few minutes before passing on. Those that wished for personal conversation were invited to meet Christian workers in the second story of the building. Those that signed the papers numbered over sixteen thousand. These included persons from every prefecture, and among them were representatives of nearly all classes of people—farmers, merchants, jinrikisha-pullers, officials, teachers, students, soldiers, and even one nobleman. Christian literature was afterwards mailed to these persons and their names were sent to Christian workers in the districts where they lived. In after years it was not uncommon to hear candidates for baptism say that their first knowledge of Christianity had been gained in the "Gospel Hall" at the Osaka Exhibition.

Among the incidents connected with this work is the following as narrated by one of the pastors:

The editor of a magazine published in Osaka "on visiting the Exposition grounds saw near the front gateway in a very prominent place these words: '*Kitarite Miyo*,' 'Come and See.' This was the sign in large letters over the Preaching Hall rented to carry on daily preaching during the five months of the Exposition. He was angered as he saw the sign—so large and conspicuous. Being an unbeliever, if not an atheist, he scarcely knew how to restrain his feelings. 'How dare,' thought he, 'these Christians to come right in front of our great Exposition and preach their detestable doctrines?' One day as he was passing in front of the Preaching Hall—crowded inside and outside—he ventured to thrust his head in through the outer row of listeners to see what was going on that so many persons were attracted. Just as he did so, an earnest Japanese—doubtless preaching on the existence of God and trying to show its reasonableness—uttered such words as these: 'The man who refuses to believe in the existence of God is a fool.' So convincing were the evidences in favour of the existence of God in the mind of the speaker that he was led to utter these strong words.

"The editor on whose ears fell these words was filled with rage. Without waiting to hear more, in disgust he left for home. But the words of the evangelist kept ringing in his

ears. That night he could not dismiss these daring words. They had found a lodgment in his heart. He said: 'I don't believe in God; but, if there should be a God and my soul immortal, then it becomes a serious matter.' 'What if there is a God and my soul immortal?' kept returning to him during the sleepless and restless night. These words would not down. The next day he called on three of the Osaka pastors, but found none of them at home. He then found his way to the Southern Methodist Mission of which the Rev. Mr. Meyers is the head in Osaka. Here he had a long talk with the pastor or evangelist. He became very serious and penitent. He decided to take the risks no longer. He became an earnest enquirer and gave his name as a candidate for baptism."—*Tidings from Japan,* June, 1903.

The advance made by Christianity in this period was largely due to the growing sense among thinking men of the need that the country had for religion as the basis for morality. Official Shintoism was no longer regarded as a religion. Buddhism was criticised as failing to be a strong ethical force. Some of the Buddhist sects were weakened by internal dissensions. The most powerful of these, the Eastern Division of the Shin sect, was burdened with a heavy debt that was declared by a large portion of its adherents to be due to speculation and to the money squandered on the notoriously immoral pleasures of its Chief Abbot. One of the most prominent men in the country had been asked to make arrangements for saving the sect's property, as it was in danger of being seized by creditors. It was generally understood that one of the conditions under which he would have accepted was that the Abbot would reform his manner of life, but the latter was unwilling to do this. Under such circumstances, the moral influence of Buddhism could not but be greatly weakened. Men that seemed indifferent to their own spiritual condition declared that religion was the great need of the people as a whole. Professor Inoue Tetsujiro, of the Imperial University in Tokyo, who had a great influence as a writer and lecturer on religious and philosophic subjects, declared that both Buddhism and Christianity contained too many superstitious ideas to be acceptable to men of modern times, and so he proposed that learned men unite with him in constructing a new religion that should contain all that was good in others,

while having special adaptation to the needs of Japan. Others believed that Buddhism could be reformed and re-vivified. Baron Maejima, who was known as the "Father of the Japanese Postal Service," said: "I firmly believe we must have religion as the basis of our national and personal welfare. No matter how large an army or navy we may have, unless we have righteousness at the foundation of our national existence, we shall fall short of the highest success. I do not hesitate to say that we must rely upon religion for our highest welfare, and when I look about me to see what religion we may best rely on, I am convinced that the religion of Christ is the one most full of strength and promise for the individual and for the nation."*

The need was felt not only for the lower classes, but also for the students in the higher institutions of learning, of whom it was said that their conduct was far from upright. Baron Kikuchi, at one time President of the Imperial University and afterwards Minister of Education, wrote in a magazine article that there were two books that he recommended to all young men—the New Testament and Smiles's "Self-Help."

The need of Japanese students for religion was emphasised by the prevalence among them of pessimistic views. Early in the twentieth century, the word "*hammon*" became very common in articles and lectures dealing with the condition of young men. The word has been variously translated by such terms as "torment of mind," "anxiety," or "despair." It was brought into common use by its appearance in a writing left by a student of philosophy, who, on account of this torment of mind, committed suicide by throwing himself down a waterfall. The notoriety gained by this young man led to his having many imitators until another student changed the fashion of self-destruction by leaping into the crater of an active volcano. The epidemic of suicide was but an outward symptom of the spiritual unrest and pessimistic feeling that were common among students, and thus it added another proof that a religion of hope, courage, and power was needed by the educated young men of Japan.

*Quoted in Gulick's "The White Peril," p. 79.

Young Men's Christian Associations have been effective instruments for exerting a religious and moral influence upon students. Societies were formed in most of the higher institutions, and these were visited from time to time by secretaries of the national organisation. In some of the educational centres the associations had buildings that afforded opportunities for recreation, literary exercises, and religious services. Christian hostels furnishing board and rooms for students brought them into surroundings calculated to develop their characters and to strengthen them against the temptations that beset young men away from home.

One of the resolutions adopted by the General Conference of Missionaries in 1900 favoured the formation of a representative standing committee of the missions. The committee was duly organised and held its first meeting in January, 1902. It has ever since had such an important part in the joint work of the missions and in matters affecting their mutual relations that it may be well to give the first two articles of its Constitution:—

"ARTICLE I. NAME.

"This Committee shall be called The Standing Committee of Co-operating Missions in Japan.

"ARTICLE II. FUNCTIONS.

"(1) This Committee shall serve as a general medium of reference, communication, and effort for the co-operating missions in matters of common interest and in co-operative enterprises. On application of interested parties, and in cases of urgent importance on its own initiative, the Committee may give counsel:

"(a) With regard to the distribution of forces for evangelistic, educational, and eleemosynary work, especially where enlargement is contemplated;

"(b) With regard to plans for union or co-operation on the part of two or more missions for any or all of the above forms of missionary work;

"(c) And in general with a view to the prevention of

while having special adaptation to the needs of Japan. Others believed that Buddhism could be reformed and re-vivified. Baron Maejima, who was known as the "Father of the Japanese Postal Service," said: "I firmly believe we must have religion as the basis of our national and personal welfare. No matter how large an army or navy we may have, unless we have righteousness at the foundation of our national existence, we shall fall short of the highest success. I do not hesitate to say that we must rely upon religion for our highest welfare, and when I look about me to see what religion we may best rely on, I am convinced that the religion of Christ is the one most full of strength and promise for the individual and for the nation."*

The need was felt not only for the lower classes, but also for the students in the higher institutions of learning, of whom it was said that their conduct was far from upright. Baron Kikuchi, at one time President of the Imperial University and afterwards Minister of Education, wrote in a magazine article that there were two books that he recommended to all young men—the New Testament and Smiles's "Self-Help."

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ficial permission to open preaching-places, the request was at first refused on technicalities. Meanwhile, the Mormons and their views concerning marriage had become a subject of discussion among the Japanese, the public press being for the most part strongly opposed to them. Finally, they obtained the Government's consent for the propagation of their religious views; but it is said that this was granted only on condition that polygamy should not be advocated. This restriction was in accordance with the National Constitution, which in the article guaranteeing religious freedom restricts this to "limits not prejudicial to peace and order."

A few items may here be inserted to show the liberal treatment that the Japanese Government was now ready to accord to Christianity.

One of the regulations of the Home Department forbade any general collection of money for religious purposes without its permission. In gathering contributions for the erection of houses of worship the churches had been satisfied to get the consent of the local police offices; and as the needed money was drawn from a limited circle, no trouble was experienced. In 1902, however, after waiting five months for careful enquiry to be made into the history, purpose, financial ability, and doctrines of the church concerned, the Home Minister issued to the pastor and eleven members of the Kumi-ai Church in Wakamatsu a formal document authorising them to raise money for the erection of a Christian church.

Even after the revised treaties came into force, foreigners as individuals were not allowed to own real estate. Nevertheless, a company incorporated under Japanese law, even though made up wholly of foreigners, became a juridical person, and was thus free from this restriction. Up to that time the houses and land that had been bought outside the open ports had of necessity been held in the names of Japanese. In a number of cases these persons had proved untrustworthy, and several missions had suddenly discovered that some of the property had been sold or mortgaged.

Even where the original holder was honest, his failure in business made the property liable for his debts, or his death might throw it into the hands of heirs who would take it for themselves. It was now found possible to have a mission or a number of its members incorporated and thus endued with power to hold real estate. When application was made for a charter, documents were required telling the source of the funds held by the company, the doctrines of the denomination it represented, and many other related facts. The purpose for which the property or any income coming from it would be used was also to be carefully stated. For example, in the charter of "The Association of Congregational Missionaries in Japan" (those of the American Board) the stated object of the company was "to hold land, buildings, or other property for the extension of Christianity, the carrying on of Christian education, and the performance of works of charity and benevolence." Though the minute regulations governing these associations and the necessity of preparing the many different documents that Japanese officialdom delights in requiring were a source of considerable annoyance, it was a great relief to know that the property was held in the most secure way that could well be devised, while the granting of incorporation after careful examination of creeds and enquiry concerning the relations of the missions to the boards showed how far the country had advanced since "the evil sect called Christian" had been strictly prohibited.

There was also a changed attitude towards Christian schools. The regulations issued by the Department of Education in 1899 had ordered that no religious instruction should be given or religious service held in any institution that shared such privileges as were accorded to national schools. In deference to the representations made by persons connected with Christian institutions, these regulations, though not withdrawn, were modified by others, and in 1903 licenses giving most of the desired privileges were granted to several of these schools. Even theological schools of sufficiently high grade found it possible to obtain formal

recognition as "special schools," so that their students shared with others such advantages as the postponement of military service.

Only a change in the feeling of the Government towards Christianity would have permitted the bestowal of the badge of the Blue Ribbon, in 1902, upon Mr. Ishii Juji in recognition of his work as founder and superintendent of the Okayama Orphanage, which was everywhere known as a Christian institution.

While the limits of this history do not permit extended notices in connection with the death of prominent Christians, an exception may well be made in the case of Hon. Kataoka Kenkichi, who died October 31, 1903.

He was born December, 1843, in the province of Tosa, which was one of those that a quarter of a century later took an important part in overthrowing the Shogunate and restoring the Imperial power. In the struggles connected with that movement he was in command of one-half of the Tosa troops. In 1871 he was one of ten young men that were sent abroad for study. They went to America under the care of Rev. David Thompson, a Presbyterian missionary. In an account that Mr. Kataoka gave of his own life* he says that in that country he was deeply impressed by the philanthropic institutions and by the Christian homes. The latter seemed to him to present a strong contrast to those of his own land because their governing spirit was love instead of propriety. From America he went to England, where he spent a little more than one year. After his return to Japan he was for a while in the navy, and there attained the rank of lieutenant-commander. The politicians of Tosa took a leading part in the agitation for constitutional government, and Mr. Kataoka became the trusted lieutenant of Mr. Itagaki, the leader of what afterwards became the Liberal Party. In 1877, at the time of the Satsuma Rebellion, he was suspected of plotting with its promoters and was imprisoned for one hundred days. While in prison he became very much interested in reading Dr. Martin's

* "Jikkenjo no Shukyo," p. 34, sq.

Chinese work on Christian evidences that has elsewhere been mentioned as being widely read by Japanese.

Mr. Kataoka joined the Presbyterian Church in Kochi, Tosa, in May, 1885, and soon afterwards was chosen to the eldership, an office that he continued to hold until his death. In 1887 he went with a number of his political associates to Tokyo for the purpose of petitioning for various reforms, especially for freedom of speech and of the press. At least one other of this delegation was a Christian. Suddenly the Government issued "Regulations for the Preservation of the Peace," and in connection with these the petitioners were ordered to leave the city at once. Mr. Kataoka and some others declared that their consciences would not allow them to yield to what they considered tyrannical action; they had come in a peaceful manner to present their petition; for them to depart now would cause the object of their coming to be misunderstood. As a result of this refusal they were arrested and imprisoned for several months. An account of their experiences in prison has been given in a previous chapter. On the day of the promulgation of the National Constitution, February 11, 1889, political prisoners were released, and the next year Mr. Kataoka was elected a member of the first Parliament. His refusal to help his political prospects by resigning his office in a Christian church has already been related. He was four times chosen Speaker of the Lower House, and held that office at the time of his death. He had hoped to withdraw from political life in order to give himself more completely to the duties of the presidency of the Doshisha, an office that he had taken in 1902, but circumstances were such as to make him feel that until a certain important crisis had been passed he could not honourably refuse the appeals of his party that he retain the speakership. Throughout the severe suffering that attended his last illness he found Christ the source of strength and comfort. Just before the end came he asked his wife, children, grandchildren, and pastor, who were all standing at his bedside, to sing his favourite hymn, a translation of

"Jesus, Thy love, it cheers my heart."

"A verse may find him who a sermon flies," and a religious story may attract the attention of those that would not read an apologetic treatise. Among the Christians there had for some time been those who as editors of newspapers or writers for magazines were helping to give a Christian tinge to national thought, even when discussing subjects not directly connected with religion. More and more, Christians began to become prominent in other departments of literature. In 1902 a newspaper in Tokyo received twenty-six hundred poems in competition for prizes that it had offered. Of the forty that were selected as the most worthy, more than half were written by Christians, and to them went the three highest prizes. Those that tried to account for this remarkable result were inclined to explain it by saying that the religion of the writers had helped to inspire them with fresh and lofty thoughts. In 1901 a novel that attracted much attention to itself and to Christianity was likewise drawn out by the offer of a prize, coming in this case from a newspaper published in Osaka. The successful competitor was Mr. Nakamura Kichizo, whose novel "Ichijiku" (The Figtree) has for its heroine an American lady married to a Japanese evangelist who after a time falls into sin and leaves the ministry. By her Christian life and deeds she leads him to repentance and also wins the hearts of her parents-in-law, who at first had done their best to make her life miserable. A skilful novelist is able to enlist the sympathies of his readers for one that is in sorrow or unjustly treated, and the daily instalments of this story were eagerly awaited by those that had become interested in the heroine and had shed many tears over the sad position in which she found herself. The story has frequent quotations from the Bible, and when issued in book form it was preceded by Christ's parable of the Barren Figtree, while the cover was embellished with a large gilt cross.

About the same time Mr. Tokutomi Kenjiro published "Omoide no Ki" (Reminiscences). This tale, which is thought to be founded on the author's own experiences, is largely occupied with the religious per-

plexities of a young student whose faith in Christ finally becomes firmly established. The book quickly passed through many editions and helped to establish Mr. Tokutomi's position as one of the leading writers of Japan. He and Mr. Nakamura did not stand alone, but were followed by others who, by means of their stories, have helped to remove prejudice against Christianity, and to make its teachings more widely known.

IX

JAPAN IN WAR AND IN PEACE

1904-1909

IN February, 1904, Japan again found herself engaged in war; this time with one of the nations of Christendom. Among some of the Buddhists there was at first an inclination to utilise the enmity of the people against Russia as a means for exciting a similar feeling against Christianity; but this attempt met little encouragement, being frowned upon by the Government and by leaders of national thought, who saw how important it was that Japan should preserve the good opinion and, if possible, have the moral support of Western nations, especially of England, with which it was in alliance, and of America, whose friendship at such a time would be of great value. It was doubtless such reasons that led Count Katsura, the Prime Minister, to invite a missionary, Rev. W. M. Imbrie, D.D., to call upon him and hear some things that it was desirable to have brought to the attention of the people of America, whither the missionary was about going on a furlough. The interview lasted nearly two hours, and the account that Dr. Imbrie wrote of it was afterwards submitted to the Prime Minister for his certification to its correctness. Among other things Count Katsura said in combating the arguments that Russia would be likely to use in seeking to prejudice Americans in her favour were the following:

"The argument against Japan is sometimes put in this form; Russia stands for Christianity and Japan stands for Buddhism. The truth is that Japan stands for religious freedom. In Japan a man may be a Buddhist, a Christian, or even a Jew, without suffering for

it. That is a principle embodied in her Constitution; and her practice is in accordance with that principle. There are Christian churches in every large city and in almost every large town in Japan; and all have complete freedom to teach and worship in accordance with their own convictions. There are numerous Christian newspapers and magazines which obtain their licenses precisely as other newspapers and magazines; and as a matter of course, Christian schools, some of them conducted by foreigners and some by Japanese, are found everywhere. . . . Japanese Christians are not confined to any one rank or class. They are to be found among the members of the National Diet, the judges in the courts, the professors in the universities, the editors of leading secular papers, and the officers of the army and navy. Therefore, to say that Japan stands for religious freedom is simply to say what is patent to all; and to abandon that principle, either now or in the future, would be to violate the Constitution, and would create deep dissatisfaction throughout all Japan. What then becomes of the argument that Japan stands for Buddhism?" *

Rev. Honda Yoitsu, who had a meeting with the Prime Minister and the Minister of War to present a request of the Japan Evangelical Alliance for the appointment of Christian chaplains to the army, was asked to convey to the churches a message from the former official in which he said:

"At the commencement of the war with Russia one subject, which gave me no small anxiety, was the danger of misconception and confusion of thought arising from racial and religious differences, and the dissemination of opinions calculated to foster mutual recriminations between the people of different nationalities and religious beliefs. . . . As I had feared, numerous cases of religious rancour have occurred in different localities, indignities being heaped upon believers of the Greek Church, and even damage done to church property. Moreover, failing to discriminate between one

* *Japan Weekly Mail*, May 28, 1904; Imbrie, "The Church of Christ in Japan," p. 24.

foreigner and another, and between one Christian denomination and another, some have, unfortunately, at sight of a Christian allowed themselves to be filled with feelings of suspicion and distrust, and been guilty of rude behaviour. Such things I deeply deplore. . . . As the present war is one carried on against Russia—a professedly Christian nation—I have felt that redoubled efforts should be made that no unworthy sentiments should be tolerated, that we should adopt a thoroughly unbiassed and equitable attitude toward all, and that the whole nation should give practical effect to the policy so clearly set forth in the Imperial edict that this is a war which has no other object than the safety of the Empire and the peace of the Far East. I sincerely hope that no one will be betrayed into the error of supposing that such things as differences in race or religion have anything whatever to do with the present complication. I had indeed thought of issuing an official instruction on the subject in the near future, but I wish through you to convey to the Christian churches and the foreign missionaries our mind at this time, so that all misgivings and misunderstandings may be prevented." *

Those high in office were not the only ones desirous of making it evident that the war was not a contest between religions. On May 16, 1904, there was held at Tokyo a meeting of representatives of different religions. The following extract from the call for the meeting shows its purpose:

"It is a matter for much regret to us that there are those abroad who are seeking to alienate from Japan the feeling of the West by representing the war as simply one between races, and in some cases as a conflict in which Russia stands for Christianity and Japan for Buddhism. Equally also it is a cause for regret that instances are reported of an exhibition of anti-for-

* *Japan Evangelist*, May, 1904. Count Katsura had before this shown himself favourable to religious liberty. As a general at the time of the war with China he had ordered his men to take care not to harm any shrine or temple, and he despatched a special guard to protect a Christian church that was in a town he occupied. His first wife, who died in 1890, was a Christian and an account of her funeral was given in a previous chapter.

eign spirit on the part of narrow-minded men in Japan, and of a readiness to make use of what presents itself to them as an opportunity to advance by means injurious to others the interests of their own religious faith. These facts lay a special responsibility upon the representative men of all the religions in the Empire. While it is the duty of all such to guide the people in matters of religion and to inculcate love of country in a manner accordant with their own faith and conscience, it is also the duty of all to cultivate the great principles of universal peace and love, not in the interest of any one creed or cult, but rather for the benefit of all men. More particularly they should endeavour to make it clear abroad that the war is not a conflict of race against race or of religion against religion, but one entered into solely for the rightful interests of Japan; and at home, while using every proper means to bind the whole nation together as one man in its contest to secure an honourable peace, they should be forward in effort to discountenance any spirit of extreme nationalism or of animosity between religions."

Those in attendance at the meetings, numbering about a thousand, included Japanese and foreigners; Shintoists, Buddhists, Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Protestants of different denominations. The speeches that were made and the resolutions that were passed were in accord with the sentiments expressed in the call for the meeting.

It was evidently at one time the plan of the Government to permit some Christians to go with the army as chaplains. Count Katsura in his interview with Dr. Imbrie had declared his purpose to do this. For some reason, however, the plan was not put into execution. Instead of this, the Young Men's Christian Association was allowed to enter upon a work in behalf of the soldiers which, though at first looked upon with little favour by some of the military officers, soon gained the approval of the highest authorities, and little by little won over those on the field who in the beginning had regarded it with indifference or suspicion. It was in August, 1904, that permission was finally obtained for the operations of the "Soldiers' Comforting Department of the Young Men's Christian Association Union." One foreign and two Japanese secretaries at once set out for the seat of war. Arriving at Antung, they found that those in command there had received no com-

munication concerning them; their help was not desired, and the foreigner was regarded with great suspicion. The party therefore returned to Chinampho, where the commandant was more favourable and furnished them with rooms in the second story of the building used by the Japanese civil administration. This place soon became a favourite resort for the soldiers. In a few days a telegram called them to Antung, where instructions had at last been received from Tokyo and where they now met a kind reception from the officers, who placed a building at their disposal. It was now the soldiers that were shy and suspicious. Kindness shown to the few that first ventured into the rooms and to the patients in the hospital soon wrought a change, and the rooms became recognised as the most comfortable and indeed the only comfortable place in the city for the soldiers to spend their leisure hours. Visits were made by officers from other posts. Their impression of what was being done and the reports that began to spread abroad about the work were so favourable that it became easy to get permission to begin operations at other military centres. More workers were sent out, most of them being Japanese, as there was more readiness to allow them to go into the territory where war was actually in progress. Some of them travelled about from place to place, visiting the more lonely garrisons or advancing with the army nearly to the fighting line. Some extracts from the published reports will give an idea of the methods that were adopted.

"The plan has been to make the buildings a social, recreational, and religious centre for all troops, supplying everything possible to attract, appeal to, and console the men far from home. The result has been that all classes and conditions of men have been appealed to and have greatly appreciated the benefits received. The work has centred around the reading, correspondence, game, and assembly rooms. There have been for the free use of the men letter-paper, envelopes, postal cards, and writing materials, daily newspapers, monthly magazines, and books of general interest. The gramophones have been the most popular of all attractions, and constant use has been made of organs, accordions, and other simple musical instruments. Among more practical articles have been razors, hair-clippers, and soap, the latter for toilet and laundry purposes. Hot water has been pro-

vided, and men by the hundreds have availed themselves of the opportunity to do their own washing. Thousands of buttons of various shapes have been supplied for those which had been lost, and goods for patches have lengthened the life of and made more comfortable many suits of clothing. Pamphlets, tracts, and Scriptures have been distributed in large numbers, generous contributions having been made by the Bible Societies and the Japan Book and Tract Society. Social gatherings, lantern exhibitions, singing clubs, and evening classes have been maintained and attended by multitudes. The religious work has been at no place forced from the start, but the secretaries have been on the constant watch for opportunities to make the beginning. Within three weeks of opening the first Association, a weekly Bible class was begun and attended by seventy men. Within two weeks, at the request of soldiers, the sessions were increased to three per week, all well attended, and the soldiers were asking for more. At every point Bible classes, Gospel, prayer, and enquiry meetings, and personal work have been conducted, comprising a vigorous and constant religious campaign.

"Words can convey no adequate impression of what the Association meant to the men during the winter of 1905 when at both Antung and at Yinkow the harbours were closed for four months. Through the long, cold, dreary winter day the men wrapped in their great-coats and blankets lay crowded on the floor of the great barn-like oilmills that did duty as hospital wards, and then through the longer, drearier, colder winter night with almost no light, they watched through the seemingly endless hours until the morning. Some men died from sheer loneliness and despair, and it was as the surgeons said, that many of the men needed the help of the Association more than they needed medicine. The men who came back from the capture of Mukden weary, many of them with the blood still clotted in their long unkempt hair, found at the Christian Comforting Place for the first time in weeks hot water, soap, barber's implements, and willing hands to help those who could not help themselves; the men who after the fall of Port Arthur and the midwinter march overland toward the front found at the Association much desired writing materials, good cheer, and a touch of home comfort,—none of these men will ever forget the service of the Jesus religion. Hundreds of thousands of men, welcomed and cheered on their return from the front, gave glad testimony to their appreciation with their '*Banzai* for the Y. M. C. A.'"

Letters from many military officers of high rank testified to their appreciation of this work, but an endorsement that attracted the attention of the whole country was the gift of ten thousand *yen* received by the Association from the Emperor and Empress. This was made after the officials of the Imperial Household had care-

fully examined what was being done. Other generous contributions were given by wealthy Japanese merchants.

As we have seen to be the case in so many other movements, the Buddhists paid to the Christians the tribute of imitation. Their efforts were praiseworthy, yet for some reason or other, where their rooms and those of the Christian Associations were in the same city, the latter drew manifold the number of visitors. A Buddhist newspaper said:

> "The enormous amount of two hundred thousand *Yen* has been expended by the Shin sect for the work among the soldiers, but it is far inferior to the work of the Christian Association, whose expenditure amounts to only a few thousand *Yen*. The latter's quarters are regarded as a paradise for the soldiers, and the Association is everywhere welcome."

The Young Men's Association was not alone in seeking the material and spiritual welfare of the soldiers. Though its representatives were the only ones permitted as Christian workers to go to the seat of war, others could engage in efforts for troops on their way to the front and for the many sick and wounded that were brought back to Japan. At the railroad stations where the trains conveying soldiers made prolonged stops, Christians, and especially Christian women, joined with others in performing kindly offices, such as serving tea, sewing on buttons, re-arranging bandages, etc. Religious literature was also distributed. Sometimes the pupils of a girls' school or other companies of Christians would sing for the soldiers. In one prominent city when this was done for the first time the prefectural governor, who was on the platform of the railroad station, was so moved that his eyes filled with tears, and it was at his request that copies of the hymns were printed so that on future occasions they might be distributed among the men. The latter were often able to catch the tune sufficiently well to keep on singing as the train bore them on their way. It was pleasant to see that these efforts of the Christians seldom met with any opposition. Often the non-Christian members of the patriotic societies that went to cheer the soldiers would ask for bundles of tracts or hymns that they

might help in giving them to the men who were stretching out their hands to receive them. In one place a Buddhist priest sometimes helped in this distribution of Christian literature. Buddhist tracts were also circulated; but they of course had less of novelty for the soldiers, who were therefore much more eager to get those of the Christians, especially when the latter were distributed by a foreign lady.

The most favourable place for Christian work was among the thousands that were brought back to Japan sick or wounded. In many of the hospitals permission was given missionaries and other Christians to go in and out as they pleased during certain hours of the day. The physicians said that they welcomed anything, otherwise unobjectionable, that took the thoughts of the patients away from themselves. Some of the hospitals had large recreation halls where companies of Christians could entertain the soldiers with music or stereopticon exhibitions, and in connection with these entertainments there was usually no objection to addresses on religious subjects. Sometimes the Christian worker would visit the separate wards, and as he got into conversation with individuals he would soon find himself surrounded by most of the occupants of the ward, if they were not too sick to walk, some perhaps hobbling up on crutches, others with heads bandaged, who sat on the edges of the beds or upon the benches placed about the charcoal fires that heated the room. There was no need of beating about the bush trying in some round-about way to reach the subject of religion. Every one of the patients bore the red cross on his sleeve, and a reference to that symbol, which had been the sign of kindly help when he lay wounded on the battle-field, opened the way for speaking at once of Him who had caused the cross to become the emblem of love and salvation. The long hours were made less wearisome to many a homesick boy by the kind words spoken to him, the new thoughts put in his mind, and the Christian literature that was left for his perusal. Some became Christians while in the hospital, and it was doubtless true of others that the impressions there

received made them more open to Christian influences after they returned to their homes.

Of many incidents connected with the hospitals, one may serve as a specimen. A bright young fellow who had lost both eyes wrote as follows to the person that had brought him cheer and comfort:

"I married a beautiful young woman just a month before being ordered to the front, and life looked very bright to me. It was a star of hope; but when I fell crushed by a shell, how I longed for death. Must I go back with a face so disfigured that my wife would look on me with horror, and I could never see her face again nor any of those whom I loved? The torture of mind was worse than the excruciating agony I endured from the physical pain.

"When it seemed I must live, I in my mind planned to take my own life. Why not? It was honourable not to be a burden to my beloved ones, and I could never see the little son that was born in February; but when your missionaries came to the hospital and sang even the first hymn, I began to see with my soul; and when you prayed I began to pray, and light came in little by little. You gave me a Bible, but I was dependent on some one else to read to me. But even in this I saw a way to reach others, and the thought of suicide left me.

"Then a day came when you brought me a Bible with raised characters that I could feel. It was the Gospel of John, and in a week I had learned the characters, read six chapters, and could find my place. My comrades who pitied me so much would come to hear me read, and it seemed to them almost a miracle. Then you brought me the blind man's tablet, so that now I can write. . . . Yes, I have now light in the darkness."

At the close of the war, opportunities came for work among the returning soldiers. In Manchuria, the Young Men's Christian Association had its workers so stationed along the railroad leading to the port of embarkation that there was hardly a regiment that did not come under their influence, and most of the soldiers not only shared in the acts of kindness, but also listened to the preaching of the Gospel.

"Every train-load of troops by night or by day was welcomed at least once on the journey and cheered with familiar music and a short Christian talk, while at the termini, thanks to the help and co-operation of the military officials, great halls fully equipped were provided for the amusement and instruction of the returning soldiers. How effective this work was is shown by

the testimony of the head of the military police at Dairen, who said that before the establishment of the temperance canteen and the Y. M. C. A. at that place it was no uncommon thing for a hundred and fifty men and officers to slip by the pickets to resort to the disreputable places of amusement in the city, but that after the establishment of these respectable places of amusement there were never more than ten men in a day who sought the baser places in the city. The extent to which the buildings were used is shown by the statement of a Christian cavalryman, who had known the Association at Fengwangcheng, that on his return he tried repeatedly to get inside, but that always at night the place was like a black mountain of humanity and that it was utterly impossible to get inside."

In Japan itself the work for the returning troops was much like that which had been done for them on their way to the war. In some places also, Christian societies tried to shield them from the evils attending their reception by an enthusiastic populace. At Asahigawa in the island of Yezo, where seventeen thousand soldiers that had gone to the war from that district were to be welcomed back, the local temperance society, under the leadership of a missionary lady, petitioned the city authorities that the reception might be given without the use of intoxicating liquor and the employment of dancing-girls. After considerable hesitation the request was granted. The ladies of the society not only helped in serving out tea, but also sang songs of welcome and gave tracts and illustrated cards to both officers and men. The temperance society in the city of Kanazawa was likewise able to induce those in charge of the reception to dispense with *sake,* thus preventing the disgraceful scenes that in many places accompanied the return of the victors.

In the time of war and in the immediately succeeding months, hundreds of thousands while on their way to or from the field, or while in Manchuria, or while in the hospitals, heard something about Christianity. So far as could be judged by outward signs, they were favourably impressed by what they heard. Almost never was any opposition shown; on the contrary, there was much eagerness to get near the speaker and to obtain the books that were being distributed. At the close of the war the survivors were scattered throughout the

length and breadth of the land, so that in almost every hamlet there were those who, if anything was said about Christianity, were likely to have some such thought as: "It was a Christian tent in Manchuria where I found a pleasant place to rest and where paper was furnished for the letter that told my friends I was unharmed;" or: "After a long night's ride on a jolting car, when my bandage became disarranged, a foreign lady came to wash my wound and bind it up again, and when I asked, 'Why do you, a foreigner, do such disagreeable work as this?' she said, 'It is for Christ's sake,' and gave me a book to show me the meaning of her words;" or: "When I was in the hospital, some one came and told me that the red cross I wore on my sleeve first got its meaning from the death by crucifixion of One who came to save us from the power of sin." In the ways thus indicated and in many another the seed had been sown and, even though nothing else came from it, one of its fruits was the wide diffusion of some knowledge of Christianity and the lessening of popular prejudice against it as something to be feared by every right-minded person.

Those that go to the battle-field are not the only sufferers; perhaps they are not the chief sufferers from war. The pay of the Japanese soldier was not sufficient to enable him to do much for his friends at home. Especially after the reserves were called out, many families deprived of those who had been the chief wage-earners were left in a destitute condition. In most of the cities the Christians formed societies for giving aid to such families. After a while their ability to do this was greatly increased by contributions of over forty thousand *yen* sent from America and entrusted to the Japanese Evangelical Alliance and the Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Missions. Two thousand *yen* of this money was transferred to Bishop Nicolai for the benefit of the Russian prisoners, and a like sum to one of the national relief societies as a symbol of the sympathy of foreign friends; but most was sent to local societies or to Christian orphanages. The local societies seemed to use the funds wisely in consultation

with government officials, and in several places they expended it in fitting up workrooms where poor women could engage in such occupations as sewing clothes to supply the needs of the army.

When news reached Japan of the signing of the treaty of peace at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 5, 1905, there was much popular dissatisfaction with its terms. Disappointment was great because Russia had not been compelled to pay an indemnity, and because it was allowed to retain part of Saghalien. In several cities the populace took violent methods of expressing its dissatisfaction with a ministry that had consented to what was styled a disgraceful peace. In Tokyo a mob burned electric cars, police boxes, and a few buildings. Many persons that took part in this uprising did so, not so much because of objections to the conditions of peace, as because it gave an opportunity to show their opposition to the Government and to vent their spite against the electric railway company which, by taking away the work of the jinrikisha-pullers and in other ways had incurred the enmity of the lower classes. It became necessary to call out troops to aid the police in quelling the disturbance, and for several weeks the city was under martial law. A few lives were lost in connection with these riots. Among the buildings destroyed were one Roman Catholic church and two belonging to Protestants, while some others were injured. At first it was thought that these acts were inspired by hatred of Christianity; but it soon became evident that, though such a feeling may have been present with some of the rioters, it was not the chief cause for the attacks upon the churches. To assign reasons for the acts of an unreasoning mob is a task involving a paradox, and it is doubtful how much weight should be given to those that have been suggested in this case. It is said by some that the remarks of a Christian preacher in favour of peace excited the mob against the religion of which he was a representative; very likely the thought of Christianity as a foreign religion led to a feeling of enmity on the part of those that thought Western na-

tions had used their influence in favour of a cessation of hostilities; and some persons who would have hesitated about injuring a dwelling-house may have been led by the spirit of mischief to make the churches the objects of their attack, especially since their glass windows made tempting targets for missiles. When the city was put under martial law, the authorities, who very much feared that these events would be considered in Western lands to be signs of an anti-Christian sentiment, took particular care to see that the churches and preaching-places were duly protected.

The better class of citizens felt that the riot with its attack on Christian edifices had brought disgrace upon the city. What was called the Congress of Religionists, made up of Shintoists, Buddhists, and Christians, resolved to make good the losses suffered by the Christians. For this purpose they raised from religious circles, chiefly Buddhist, about five thousand *yen,* and then by appeals to statesmen, bankers, merchants, and others secured enough to bring up the sum to over thirteen thousand *yen,* which in December, 1906, was given over to the Christian churches for the reimbursement of their losses. Though patriotic motives were probably the ones that had the most influence with the contributors to this fund, the act must be taken as a sign of sympathy and of friendliness towards followers of an alien faith.

The gift made by the Emperor and Empress to the Young Men's Christian Association was not the only proof of a friendly feeling on the part of Their Majesties towards the religion of which that organisation was one of the exponents. The previous year the Emperor and the Crown Prince had contributed to the funds of the Okayama Orphanage; and now at about the same time with the gift to the Association an annuity of one thousand *yen* a year for ten years was promised to the Orphanage; one thousand *yen* were also given to Mr. Hara's Home for Discharged Prisoners; and a little later a like sum was bestowed on Mr. Tomeoka's Home School for Wayward Children. Some

foreign opponents of Christianity had tried to argue that the gift to the Association had no religious significance; but this selection of four prominent Christian institutions as recipients of the Imperial bounties made it plain that their work was appreciated and that the religious faith of their founders was not regarded with disfavour. Another recognition of Christian philanthropy was the bestowal (January, 1906) of the Decoration of the Blue Ribbon upon Miss Riddell for her efforts in behalf of lepers.

A decoration had previously been bestowed upon Miss McLean who, after spending some years as a missionary in Japan, returned to England, where she took great interest in the Japanese sailors that went to that country. In this way she often met the officers and men of the Japanese navy who were sent to take charge of war vessels constructed in England, or to participate in such festivities as Queen Victoria's Jubilee or the Coronation of Edward VII. After a while a society "for Church-work among Japanese seamen in British ports" was formed. It secured a Japanese for a chaplain, and sustained a "Mission Club," where sailors could find not only lodgings in helpful surroundings, but also sympathy, advice, and recreation. Many men connected with the navy were led to a Christian faith through the influence of this Club.

Somewhat similar work in Japan itself was carried on in the "Army and Navy Mission Club" at Yokosuka, an important naval station near Yokohama. The funds for establishing this were contributed chiefly by foreign friends in Japan and America, but afterwards much of its support came from those who were receiving its benefits. An American lady and a Japanese gentleman superintended its operations. "The core of the Club's work has been teaching the Bible and Christian doctrine to the men introduced by members, and bringing to bear all the influences of personal friendship and good cheer, prayer and persuasion, to lead them into the Christian life." When men were removed to other stations the Club kept in touch with them by means of correspondence, courses of Bible study, and

monthly reports. Branches were established in other naval stations.

Such efforts as the above help to account for the strong foothold that Christianity obtained in the Japanese navy. Mention has previously been made of Rear Admiral Serata, who died shortly before the Russo-Japanese War. The first victory in that conflict was won by another Christian, Rear Admiral Uryu. Two of Admiral Togo's personal staff were Christians, as were many other officers and men that had an honourable part in the naval manœuvres and battles.

Even such an institution as the Army and Navy Mission Club could not wholly escape the suspicion with which many persons still regarded Christianity. At the beginning of the war there was considerable excitement about Russian spies. Foreign travellers were regarded with suspicion, especially if they were seen examining maps or taking notes. Evangelists, colporteurs, and even ordinary Christians were sometimes accused of being in the pay of Russia. A conflagration that destroyed two hundred buildings at Yokosuka originated in the house of a person connected with the Mission Club, and, notwithstanding that all his family, consisting of six members, perished in the flames, the rumour quickly spread that he was a Russian spy, and that he had burned the house in order to destroy evidences of his guilt. One day crowds gathered on the parade-ground to witness his court-martial and execution, which it had been reported were to take place there.

A few of the Christians did not look upon the war with the same sentiments as most of their fellow-countrymen. Among them were those who believed that the Gospel of Christ forbade its followers to take up the sword. The writings of Tolstoi had found many readers in Japan, and while most of those that were ready to accept his views on other points broke away from his teaching concerning non-resistance, there were some who followed him in this doctrine also. Others who ventured to speak against the war were the socialists. It is not strange that socialism gained some adherents from among those who had been taught by Christianity

the brotherhood of man, and who, in seeking ways of helping others, had been led to consider the social problems which, with the introduction of the modern industrial system, were arising in Japan as they had in Western lands. For several years before the war the socialists, some of whose leaders were connected or had once been connected with Christian churches, had shown considerable activity in publishing pamphlets and newspapers, in lecturing, and in forming societies of workingmen. Their efforts had several times brought them into conflict with the Government, so that their meetings had often been cut short by the police, or their newspapers suspended. They had the courage of their convictions so that when the war was imminent and after it broke out they did not hesitate to denounce it. Public sentiment in Japan was so nearly unanimous in favour of the war that this opposition did not attract so much attention as might have been expected. Probably most persons looked upon the socialists as a set of visionaries from whom any kind of eccentricity might be expected. Moreover, there was among students and workingmen—the classes most likely to take active measures against those incurring their dislike—considerable sympathy with the socialists in their denunciation of social abuses and desire for reform; hence, there was less bitter feeling against them on account of their views respecting war.

In the course of this history we have already seen how strong was the desire of the Japanese Christians for independence. They disliked to be in any way under the direction of the missions. In some churches, owing to the system of government, the missionaries had more or less ecclesiastical authority, and in denominations where this was disclaimed, it was thought that their power to give or withhold mission funds gave them actual control over the churches that were aided by them. Pastors and evangelists that received from missions a part of their salaries felt that non-believers regarded them as hirelings; and those of their associates who ministered to self-supporting churches were

inclined to nourish that feeling and to declare that the former were not free to adopt desirable methods of work, or to teach the doctrines they really believed when these were not such as the foreigners favoured.

While the missionaries regretted some of the ways in which the spirit of independence manifested itself, most of them were glad for its existence, and rejoiced in the desire of the Japanese to develop churches that should be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating. It cannot be denied, however, that some missionaries were very slow to relinquish any powers that they possessed, while there were a very few who said that they did not care to have the churches with which they were connected become self-supporting. This last class of missionaries should not be charged with being governed by selfish motives. They believed it would be much safer for foreigners to keep control in their own hands until the churches and the ministry had been so well grounded in the faith and accustomed to correct ecclesiastical methods that, when at last set free, they would not depart from the way in which they had been trained to walk. So long as preachers were largely dependent on foreign funds for their salaries they would be careful to preach and labour as the missionary desired instead of running off into all sorts of vagaries in doctrine and method, as was likely to be the case with those whose knowledge of Christianity was not very profound and who had few personal incentives to caution in laying the old aside and adopting what was new.

As might be expected, the great progress made by the nation, and its victory over Russia intensified the desire of the Christians to show that they were able to manage their own ecclesiastical affairs and to take the lead in the conflict against the forces of unbelief and sin. Many members of the Seikokwai (Episcopal Church) were not happy in the thought that their bishops were chosen by the ecclesiastical authorities in England and America, and a new impetus was now given to efforts for raising a fund to endow a Japanese episcopate, it being understood that one of their own

clergy would be appointed whenever a fund sufficient to ensure his support should be secured.

In 1905 committees were chosen by the Kumi-ai Churches (Congregational) and the Mission of the American Board to consult concerning their mutual relations. The joint meetings of these committees were marked by the most pleasant feeling and frank interchange of opinions. The desire of all was to find a plan by which the Kumi-ai body as a whole should be self-supporting. It was made up of the following elements:—1. Self-supporting churches. 2. Churches receiving aid from the Japanese Missionary Society. 3. Churches receiving aid from the Mission. 4. Small companies of believers aided by the Mission and not yet fully organised as churches, though converts were baptised in connection with them, and transfers of members took place between them and the organised churches. The plan proposed by the missionaries and gladly adopted by the Japanese transferred to the Japanese Missionary Society the churches of the third class. To make this possible, the Mission, as a parting gift to the churches that it had been aiding, promised to pay to the Japanese Missionary Society the sum of 8,700 *yen* in three annual instalments of decreasing amount. The Missionary Society on its part promised that within the next three years it would, in addition to its regular budget, raise at least 6,000 *yen* for the aid of these churches, and would thereafter include in the budget whatever might be needed for such of them as had not then attained to self-support. In accordance with this plan, thirty churches (including a few companies of believers belonging to the fourth of the classes mentioned above) that had been aided in 1905 to the extent of a little over 5,000 *yen* were transferred. By this arrangement, which came into force in January, 1906, the Kumi-ai body consisted of ninety-one churches,* and was henceforth wholly independent of mission funds, except as it had among its assets what was due of the "parting gift" to churches hitherto helped by the Mis-

* The number was soon slightly reduced by the uniting of some of the weaker churches.

sion. Those incompletely organised companies of Christians that still received foreign aid were not considered integral parts of the Kumi-ai body, though their delegates were to be received as corresponding members at the meetings of the general and local associations of the churches.

Unfortunately the agitation for independence in the Church of Christ in Japan (Presbyterian) was accompanied by some lack of harmony between that Church and the missions with which it was associated. In addition to the spirit of self-assertion, then so general among the Japanese, various events had made some of the prominent members of this Church dissatisfied with the present arrangement. Among these may be mentioned the objections that one of the missions co-operating in the support of the Meiji Gakuin Theological School made to the use of a certain text-book that it regarded as out of harmony with the Scriptures. The book was dropped* and thereupon the teacher who had used it, and who was the most influential minister in the Church, resigned. He and another person concerning whom there had likewise been a difference of opinion united in establishing a rival theological school.

At the Synod held in 1904, an attempt was made to pass a resolution looking towards the dissolution of such local churches as should not in a little over two years be financially independent. One of the reasons urged in favour of this action was that the congregations receiving help through the missions were too much under the influence and control of the latter, and that so long

*This book, W. N. Clarke's "An Outline of Christian Theology," was restored a little later when a member of another mission took the chair that had previously been occupied by a Japanese professor. This missionary was in general sympathy with the policy of the Japanese leaders of the Church. It will be seen that the whole question was made more complicated by differences in the views of the co-operating missions and of individual missionaries, especially as the more conservative feared that, if they yielded to the desires of the Japanese leaders, mission funds might be used for supporting men whose doctrines were not in accord with those of the persons who contributed the money.

as this condition lasted the Church of Christ in Japan could not be truly independent. The resolution failed of acceptance by two votes, but at the next year's Synod action was unanimously taken to the following effect:

1. Presbyteries shall not hereafter organise as churches bodies of believers unable to be financially independent.

2. A body of believers not financially independent shall be called *dendo kyokwai* (mission-church).

3. Each presbytery shall enquire into the condition of all the churches within its bounds; and shall endeavour by September, 1907, to bring to financial independence such as are now dependent. Those churches which at that time are unable to be financially independent, it shall take steps to constitute *dendo kyokwai.*

The canons were amended so that a *dendo kyokwai* was to be under the direct care of the presbytery to which it belonged and to have its affairs managed by a committee appointed by that presbytery.

As a large proportion of the bodies to be designated as *dendo kyokwai* had been more or less fully under the personal care of missionaries, the question of how much of this supervision was to be retained became an important one. The missionaries desired co-operation with the Japanese, but there was much doubt about the basis on which this could be secured. It has already been recorded that in 1897 the Synod had declared its dissatisfaction with the methods then in use, and had given its definition of what co-operation ought to be. In 1905 this subject, after having lain dormant for some time, came once more before the Council of Co-operating Missions, which after a long discussion prepared a paper in which it said that the Council approved of the following plan:

1. The missionaries should be free to engage in work in unevangelised places, it being understood that, wherever practicable, consultation should be had with the local workers and Christians.

2. In the case of organised groups of believers, until they supplied half of their total expenses, their affairs should be administered by themselves and the repre-

sentatives of the supporting missions, subject to the ecclesiastical oversight of the presbytery.

3. When such a group of believers supplied half of its expenses, its affairs should be administered by the local congregation and the presbytery, any aid from the mission being given directly to the local organisation.

This action of the Council was not pleasing to the Synod because it included a rejection of what had been proposed, and also because the second part of the new plan gave the missions so much power over the work supported by them. Accordingly, at its next meeting the Synod adopted a resolution declaring that:

"The Synod in the year 1897 clearly recognised the fact that no co-operation in the proper sense of the word existed between the missions and the Church of Christ in Japan. Since that time, no change has taken place, nor is there any prospect of such a change."

A committee was also appointed to prepare a historical account of the matter to be sent to the churches, the missions, and the foreign missionary boards. This committee in sending the account to the boards prefaced it with a letter setting forth the position of the Synod as follows:

"It is now more than thirty years since the Church was first founded, and already it has a history that may rightly be described as eventful. It extends from one end of Japan to the other, and carries on its work through a synod, presbyteries, and congregations. It has a Board of Missions actively engaged in the work of evangelisation and the establishment of churches. Therefore it seems to be reasonable to claim that it has a right to a voice in all work carried on within its organisation or closely connected with it. That is the principle for which the Synod stands and for which it believes that churches in other lands under like circumstances would stand.

"The question of co-operation has agitated the Church and the missions from time to time for nearly fifteen years; and there are those who think the agitation uncalled for since co-operation is already a matter of fact. Whether it is a matter of fact or not depends upon the sense in which the word co-operation is used. The fact that the missions employ evangelists, aid in support of pastors, establish and maintain preaching-places, while at the same time they also in fact practically retain such matters solely within their own control does not in itself constitute co-operation, if by co-operation is meant a co-working which

recognises the principle for which the Synod stands. Even though the work done extends to the Church, the system as a system is that of an *imperium in imperio.*

"The co-operation which the Church seeks is a co-operation of the missions as missions with the Church as a Church. The missions and the Church, acting as independent organisations, should make clear and definite arrangements with each other under the principle set forth; and the work of the missions as missions carried on within or in close connection with the organisation of the Church should be controlled by such arrangements. Co-operation should find a partial analogy in the alliance between England and Japan; not in the relations between Japan and Korea."

The meeting of the Council of Missions held in July, 1906, gave much time to the consideration of this matter. The discussion centred about a paper that had been prepared by some of the missionaries in consultation with prominent Japanese for presentation to the Synod. It contained the following definition:

"A co-operating mission is one which recognises the right of the Church of Christ in Japan to the general care of all the evangelistic work done by the missions as missions within the Church or in connection with it, and which carries on such work under an arrangement based upon the foregoing principle and concurred in by the Synod acting through the Board of Missions."

Though a motion was lost that pledged the Council to the principle involved in this proposed definition, this fact did not show whether the majority was opposed to the principle itself, some of those who favoured it thinking it unwise to take any action. Three months later, the definition was taken to the Synod and by a majority of one was accepted by that body. One of the chief objections of those that opposed it was based on their dislike of so much centralisation as it was thought to involve by giving authority to the Church's Board of Missions instead of leaving each presbytery to make its own arrangements with the mission or missions working within its territory. This was also a point on which some of the missionaries laid stress, feeling that, while they could make mutually satisfactory arrangements with the presbyteries, it would be more difficult to do so with a central board that was likely to be composed to a

great extent of teachers, editors, and pastors of large churches, who had comparatively little knowledge of the conditions of outlying districts and who, with the tendency to emphasise efforts for reaching the so-called "influential classes," might have little sympathy with work done for the common people.

In connection with this discussion much was said and written in disparagement of the missionaries, who were by some accused of letting their desire to control stand in the way of the independence of the Church. The leader in the movement was also editor of a weekly paper whose columns frequently expressed the opinion that many of the missionaries ought to return to America. On the other hand, there were pastors and evangelists whose dislike of the policy advocated led them to some thought of separating from the denomination, since they preferred to continue existing relations with the missionaries rather than come under the control of those Japanese leaders whom they regarded as seeking to lord it over their brethren.

The manner in which the missions should adjust themselves to the position taken by the Synod, became a subject for earnest thought and discussion. At the time when this account is written no uniform method of procedure has been adopted, and it is probable that for some time to come the actual relations between missionaries and the Church will vary in different localities and with different persons. The following plan, presented in July, 1907, by the West Japan Presbyterian Mission and approved by the Board of Missions of the Church of Christ in Japan, shows what the latter was ready to consider a satisfactory arrangement and one in accord with the Synod's position.

"1. Presbytery to elect a Board of Counsellors for Mission evangelistic work; the number, together with a representative appointed by the Home Mission Board, to be the same as the number of missionaries.

"2. This Board of Counsellors together with all the ordained missionaries, members of this Mission working within the bounds of the Presbytery, to constitute a joint committee for the administration of the evangelistic work of the Mission.

"3. This joint committee to decide in regard to all the evan-

gelistic work of the Mission within the bounds of the Presbytery, such matters as the opening and closing of evangelistic fields, the appointment and dismissal of evangelists, the fixing of salaries, the amount of aid to be given to *Dendo Kyokwai,* etc. The committee may also make suggestions to the Mission concerning the supply and distribution of the evangelistic missionary force.

"4. An annual meeting of this joint committee to be held in connection with the meeting of the Presbytery. At this meeting the work of the past year to be reviewed, and estimates for the work of the coming year made out and the work planned for. Thereafter any questions that may arise, to be decided by the local missionary or missionaries in consultation with the Board of Counsellors or a sub-committee of the same.

"5. This plan of co-operation may be modified by the joint action of the Church of Christ in Japan and the Mission, according to the teachings of experience and the growth of the work. Should either party desire to terminate this arrangement, it may be done at any time upon a year's notice."

Previous chapters have recorded the union of the churches that had grown up in connection with the different Presbyterian and Reformed missions, and also that resulting from the coming together of those established by the Episcopalian missions of England and America. A similar combination of those connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church; the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; the Methodist Church of Canada; the Methodist Protestant Church; the United Brethren in Christ; and the Evangelical Association, was for several years under discussion. The Evangelical Association soon withdrew from the negotiations on the ground that its churches were not yet ready to assume the responsibilities that were involved. While the missionaries and the Japanese Christians of the other bodies were almost unanimous in favour of the union, the home authorities did not find it easy to agree upon any plan for its accomplishment. The chief trouble came from questions concerning the degree of authority that should be given to bishops, and the length of a bishop's term of service, as well as those relating to presiding elders and district conferences. While negotiations were still in progress, a movement arose in the United States for the uniting in that country of the Methodist Protestants, the United Brethren, and the Congregationalists; hence the first two of these bodies ceased to take part in the

negotiations for a Methodist union in Japan. Furthermore, although in America the commissioners of the northern and southern Methodist Episcopal Churches agreed upon a plan under which they could approve of the union of their churches in Japan, it was of such a nature as to be unacceptable to the Canadian Methodists. The Japanese Christians connected with the three bodies were very much opposed to any further narrowing of the combination, and some of them began to say that, as they were the persons most interested, the decision should be made in Japan rather than in America. The missionaries also were disappointed that no satisfactory arrangement had been made. An amended proposition for a basis of union such as was favoured by the missionaries and the Japanese Christians was prepared and a strong appeal for its approval was sent to America, where it proved effective in gaining assent for what was proposed.

In accordance with the decision thus reached, delegates from four annual conferences (one conference of the Methodist Church of Canada; one of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and two of the Methodist Episcopal Church) met in Tokyo, May 22, 1907, for holding the First General Conference of the Methodist Church of Japan. There were also present two commissioners from each of the mother churches in the United States and Canada. At this meeting the final decisions were made concerning the Basis of Union and the Discipline. One of the missionaries writes:

"As to creed the new Church is based upon the historic doctrines of Methodism, eighteen of our articles having been taken practically without change from the Discipline of the uniting churches. In policy the Church follows again Methodist standards, being Episcopal, with presiding elders nominated, in double the number necessary, to the bishop for his appointment of the proper number for a term of four years each, and with an itinerant ministry without time limit to the pastorate. That is, pastors receive their appointments annually." *

Rev. Honda Yoitsu, whom the reader will remember as one of the earliest Japanese Christians, was chosen to

* *Japan Evangelist*, June, 1907.

be the first bishop, and was duly consecrated on Sunday, June 2.

The question of the relations of the missionaries to the new Church was finally settled by the Japanese members of the General Conference, who, after consultation by themselves, were unanimous in adopting the following resolution:

"Resolved. That every missionary regularly appointed by the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, or the Methodist Church, Canada, to work in co-operation with the Methodist Church of Japan, as contemplated in the Basis of Union adopted by the Commissioners of said Churches, shall by virtue of such appointment be entitled to all the rights and privileges of actual membership in the Annual Conference where his service is being rendered, so long as his administration and conduct conform to our Discipline.

"Every such missionary who may in writing elect to serve in this relation shall be subject to the assignment and direction of the missionary authorities of the Church by which he is supported, in consultation with the *Kantoku* [Bishop].

"In the event of his non-conformity to our Discipline, the *Kantoku* shall in writing so advise the missionary authorities of the Church to which such missionary is responsible; and the course to be pursued shall then be determined by consultation between the *Kantoku* and said missionary authorities."

In 1900 the failure of the rice crop in some of the provinces of northeastern Hondo caused great distress among the peasantry. It is said that by December of that year thousands of people were living upon food composed largely of acorns and the leaves of vegetables. When snow covered the ground, these supplies were cut off, and numbers of people were in danger of starvation. Christian missionaries were the first to give wide publicity to this condition of affairs and they took a prominent part in efforts for the relief of those in distress. A committee chosen by the foreign community in Sendai, and composed of five Protestant missionaries, one Catholic missionary, and one teacher in a government school, collected and administered about one hundred thousand *yen,* of which about one-half came from the United States. All the relief work was done after full consultation with the local officials, who rendered all possible assistance. Public funds, besides money

contributed by Japanese and administered by them, also helped to relieve the wide-spread distress; but the help from foreign sources that was sent through the Sendai committee and still larger sums sent through the Red Cross Society had the additional advantage of being a witness to the sympathy that people of other lands had for Japan, a sympathy that found its counterpart a few months later, when Japan sent three hundred thousand *yen* for the relief of sufferers from the great earthquake in San Francisco.

As one result of the famine, large numbers of children whose parents had died or had become unable to support them were sent to the already existing orphanages, or were cared for in one specially opened for their relief by ladies of the Methodist Mission in Sendai.

The progress in educational matters that had been made by Japan began to attract to its higher schools young men from other Asiatic countries—Korea, Siam, India, and especially China. In 1904 the numbers of those coming from the last of these countries suddenly increased to an average of about one hundred new students a month; and in the latter part of 1905 they were coming at the rate of five hundred a month. At the close of 1906 the whole number was said to be over fifteen thousand.* Nearly all of these were in Tokyo. Removed as they were from accustomed restraints and brought into conditions that subjected them to severe temptations, many of them lived in ways that brought reproach upon the whole class. How the Chinese students should be controlled became a problem for the Minister of their own country, for the Japanese officials, and for such schools as took an interest in the moral welfare of their pupils. They formed a class that was in great need of helpful religious and moral influences.

The National Union of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Japan invited the General Committee

* Afterwards the number was greatly reduced. In 1908 it was estimated as a little over five thousand. (*Japan Evangelist*, March, 1909.)

of the Young Men's Christian Associations of China, Korea, and Hongkong to make an effort in behalf of these students; and in response to this call Chinese and American secretaries were sent from China to organise and conduct a work for their benefit. Evening schools, Bible classes, evangelistic meetings, and social entertainments were soon under way. In January, 1907, a new building was dedicated that furnished permanent headquarters for a work likely to have great influence on the religious history of the land from which these students come and in whose future progress they will have a prominent part.

The willingness of most parents to have their children attend Sunday schools had given churches and missions great opportunities for usefulness; but there had been no general organisation of the schools until 1907 when, in connection with the visit of Mr. F. L. Brown, of the International Sunday School Association, the Sunday School Association of Japan was formed. Under its auspices conventions have been held, "lesson helps" prepared, literature published, and other efforts made for arousing interest in Sunday schools and increasing their efficiency.

Two events in the early part of 1907 did much to direct public attention towards Christianity—the holding of a Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation, and the visit of General William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army.

The Conference, which was held in Tokyo from April 3 to April 7, was the first international gathering ever held in Japan, and so was hailed by its people as another proof that they had gained a recognised place among the nations of the earth. There were one hundred and sixty delegates from abroad, representing twenty-five different countries. English and Japanese were the official languages, all the important addresses and announcements being given in both, this requiring a double interpretation in the few cases where speeches were made in other languages. The prayer-meetings

had more of a polyglot nature, each person that took part speaking in his own tongue; while the printing of the hymnal in different languages allowed the same sentiments to be expressed simultaneously in Japanese, English, German, French, Chinese, and Korean. The novelty and suggestiveness of these features impressed the Japanese, as did the fact that the gathering was considered of so much importance that it received messages from the President of the United States, the Kings of England and Norway, and the Crown Prince of Sweden. A letter from Marquis Ito, the Japanese Resident-General in Korea, and his gift of ten thousand *yen* towards the expenses of the Conference were probably expressions in his name of the friendly feeling of the Japanese Government; while leading citizens of Tokyo and members of the nobility tendered receptions to the delegates. The addresses delivered at the public sessions were valuable, but perhaps the indirect influence of the Conference in bringing Christianity so prominently before the people was its greatest service. Many of the delegates afterwards visited different sections of the country to take part in evangelistic services.

One interesting feature of the Conference was the receipt of a friendly message from a meeting of Buddhists being held at the same time in Tokyo, which passed the following resolution:

"The Japan Buddhist Conference wishes to take this opportunity to express its profound respect to the World's Student Christian Federation Conference which is now going on and also to the distinguished guests from abroad.

"The Japan Buddhist Conference shall send a suitable representative to convey this resolution to the World's Student Christian Conference."

The Federation on its part appointed a representative to bear a suitable response to the Buddhists. A letter was also received from a Conference of Shinto priests.

General Booth's name was already well known to the reading public. Placards bearing his portrait and advertising his meetings were posted in all the cities to be visited by him, so that his name was in everybody's

mouth, albeit many, it is said, got the idea that he was the commander-in-chief of Great Britain's military forces. The Japanese, who are hero-worshippers, were eager to see a person so famous. His efforts for the social regeneration of the lower classes commended him to many who took little interest in his more strictly religious work. As one Christian paper said: "No other person in private life ever visited this country who was so enthusiastically received by the Japanese people as was General Booth. His public meetings everywhere were crowded to overflowing, and both the high and the lowly, the old and the young, seemed to vie with each other in doing him homage." Official receptions were tendered to him in most of the cities that he visited. In Tokyo he was granted an audience with the Emperor, being allowed to go to the Palace in his usual Salvation Army uniform. "His journeys by rail were almost like a royal progress. At all the chief stations, the mayor and city officials or other representative citizens and the leading Christians came to greet the General. He invariably addressed them as long as the wait at the station would permit. At some of the stations, the students or school children sang welcome songs, and throughout there was remarkable manifestation of affectionate regard." Remaining in Japan a little over a month, he delivered addresses in several cities before audiences that, although an admission fee was charged, crowded the buildings in which meetings were held.

The Students' Conference and the visit of General Booth received due attention from the press. For a while the newspapers abounded with reports and with comments that as a rule were commendatory. One daily paper said that Christianity was the thing about which people were then most desirous to be told, and in order to meet this popular demand it gave considerable space in its columns to passages from the Bible.

It must not be supposed, however, that there were no discordant voices. Some Christian writers thought that the Conference made too much of receptions and other

social attentions paid by prominent men. One of these writers, who was noted as a trenchant critic, said:

"Say not the age of miracles is past. Miracles still take place in front of our eyes. Marquis Ito has given ten thousand *yen* for a Christian work! An impossibility has happened, and it ought to strengthen or weaken the faith of believers as the case may be. Has Marquis Ito undergone that fearful mental and spiritual struggle which is known under the name of Christian conversion? Or have Japanese Christians gone down to his spiritual level to accept his gift? Or did the two meet in mid-air, one coming up half-way and the other coming down almost half-way? . . . Truly Christianity is moving at high speed in Japan, but whether upward or downward only the future historian can tell." *

A writer in the *Taiyo,* the most popular of the Japanese monthly magazines, had an article in which, after referring to the Conference, the Salvation Army, and the coming of a new bishop to the Greek Church, he said:

"From all this we can see how earnest the believers are in the spread of Christianity, and how strongly they desire to make Japan a Christian nation in the near future. Their efforts have been heartily welcomed by the people and it is not unnatural that they think that no such opportunity for evangelisation will again present itself. Supposing that these movements should be successful, our Empire will be changed into a Christian country, our unique history extending over a period of twenty-five hundred years will be trampled on, and the spirit of Japan will be destroyed. Not only is the Christian spirit not sufficient to lead the new generation, but it will make the people weak and hypocritical, and will destroy their character. . . . Pay no attention to the hypocritical words of Christians and listen not to their hymns. Long live the non-Christian spirit! Long live the spirit of the world, of the flesh, of self-confidence, of determination, and of patriotism!" †

In July, 1907, Baron Kato Hiroyuki, a Privy Councillor and formerly the President of the Tokyo Imperial University, delivered before the Imperial Academy a lecture entitled "Christianity and the State," which attracted much attention. Baron Kato began by declaring his opposition not only to Christianity, but to all religion, because all supernaturalism fosters super-

* *Yorozu Choho,* April 10, 1907.
† Translation in *The Japan Evangelist,* June, 1907.

stition, and superstition is an obstacle to intellectual progress. He went on to argue that Christianity and Buddhism are the more dangerous to the state because of their cosmopolitan character. Their teaching of universal brotherhood leads to a decay of the nationalistic spirit, and hence they are more objectionable than such religions as Judaism and Brahminism, which confine their attention to the people among whom they have arisen. A religion that claims to be universal places before the citizen the necessity of serving two masters —the State and the deities that he worships. In case their commands differ, there is danger that he will follow the latter. Christianity is specially to be feared because it cannot take on Japanese forms as Buddhism has done. It demands that all shall recognise and serve the one God whom it proclaims. It places that God above the national rulers; but Japanese should never acknowledge that any being is higher than the Emperor. The Salvation Army has displayed banners with the inscription "Japan for Christ," while the Okayama Orphanage has issued a printed invitation to the celebration of its twentieth anniversary beginning with the words, "Through the blessing of the Heavenly Father and the favour of Their Imperial Majesties," thus relegating Their Imperial Majesties to a secondary place, an act of the greatest disrespect such as must be intolerable to a patriot. Christian schools do, indeed, read the Imperial Rescript on Education, but this is only because of the pressure from public opinion. The Rescript and Christianity are absolutely irreconcilable. Many doctrines of the Christians, such as the belief in a personal God, are unscientific, and no educated Japanese should look with unconcern upon the spread of a religion whose acceptance would, from an intellectual point of view, be a step backward, and from that of a patriot, would portend danger to the State.

The lecture as printed in a pamphlet led to much discussion, especially in Christian journals, most of whose writers, however, were inclined to ridicule the thought of bringing up arguments which, though current twenty years before, had long been outgrown.

Baron Kato, they said, had fallen hopelessly behind the times; and however pardonable this might be in a man over seventy years old, it would be inexcusable in younger men were they to follow his lead. More direct arguments were used in reply to his assertions. Among other things he was accused of inconsistency, for he had once been ardent in proclaiming the equality of all men, and as an earnest advocate of the doctrines of evolution had written many things quite irreconcilable with what he was now saying about the Imperial Family. In a later lecture Baron Kato said in rebuttal of this charge that, in all of his teachings of the Spencerian philosophy, he had considered the Imperial Family as altogether outside and above all evolutionary processes. Though Baron Kato's belated arguments would probably have had little effect if coming from another source, his reputation as a scholar, and the high positions he had held, gave them a currency and influence beyond their deserts.

A form of work that had been gradually developed became prominent about 1907 under the name "*shuchu dendo*," a term that has been translated as "concentrated evangelism." As usually conducted, some promising field where there was already a church was chosen several months in advance in order that the pastor, sometimes aided by one or two persons from outside, might prepare the Christians for the movement and also get as many new persons as possible interested in the study of the Bible. In some places this study was conducted on a plan that had originated in Okayama of having "one worker teach one Gospel to one person;" that is, those Christians that volunteered for service received from the leader instructions once a week in whichever of the four Gospels was chosen, and then each one went to the person who, having signified willingness to be taught, had been assigned to his care. When the time came for *shuchu dendo*, several pastors and laymen would spend a week or two in the city holding meetings and also visiting in their homes those that were already interested in Christianity or that were

thought to be most accessible. As a result of these efforts many new persons were added to the number of enquirers, but the large additions to the churches came mostly from those who had before, in Sunday schools or elsewhere, learned about Christianity, and were now by this movement brought to the needed decision that made them willing to be reckoned among the disciples of Christ.

X

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

HALF a century has elapsed since Japan was re-opened to missionary effort. The preceding chapters have narrated the more prominent events connected with the development of Japanese Christianity in those five wonderful decades. In addition to what has been related, there have been many ways in which Christianity has helped Japan to become what it is at the present day. Indeed, there is good reason for saying that, directly and indirectly, Christianity has been the chief force in effecting the changes that have taken place, so that a pamphlet written by Dr. W. E. Griffis is justified in bearing the title: "Christ the Creator of the New Japan." * In that pamphlet Dr. Griffis says:

> "I could never imagine Bushido of itself alone, or Japanese Buddhism, or Shinto, or the Government, originating a Red Cross, a Peace Conference, a system of hospitals, a Woman's University, the emancipation and elevation to citizenship of pariahs and outcasts (*eta* and *hinin*), freedom of the press, the granting of full toleration of religion, or securing of real representative political institutions. In scarcely one of those features in the New Japan most admirable to Christians or to the best men of the Occident, do I recognise the legitimate offspring of Bushido or forces inherent in Japan. These have been propagated, not developed from within. No, it is to the Spirit of Jesus that we are to accredit most of what is morally superb in the New Japan."

Dr. Griffis shows how some of those who led in the changes that have taken place had new thoughts and purposes inspired in their souls by reading Christian

* Published in 1907 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, Mass.

books or coming in contact with Christian teachers, and he says with an emphasis that he expresses by the use of capital letters:

"BEHIND ALMOST EVERY ONE OF THE RADICAL REFORMS THAT HAVE MADE A NEW JAPAN STANDS A MAN—TOO OFTEN A MARTYR—WHO WAS DIRECTLY MOVED BY THE SPIRIT OF JESUS, OR WHO IS OR WAS A PUPIL OF THE MISSIONARIES."

The early missionaries, and to a less extent those of a later day, have had great opportunities for exerting influences whose results are not given in tables of statistics. Simply as those that by teaching European languages introduced young men and women to Western literature, they opened the way by which the nation received ideas that have revolutionised its life. To them also came persons who had enquiries to make concerning agriculture, trade, manufactures, and other departments of human activity. Orders for machines were sent through them, merchants asked them to write business letters to firms in foreign lands. The schools that they founded and the societies in whose organisation they had a part stirred up the Buddhists to similar enterprises. Dr. Verbeck organised the school that developed into the first Imperial University. He was for a long time the only foreign counsellor of the Government, and it meant not a little that the advice given in that formative period of the new nation came from one who was a conscientious and broad-minded Christian.

Nearly all the philanthropic efforts for the various classes of people needing such help—orphans, lepers, the blind, the imbecile, wayward children, discharged prisoners, etc.—were begun by missionaries or by Japanese Christians; and in some cases their example has stirred up the Government or those of other religions to care for the unfortunate.* It will be remembered

* The Japan Year Book for 1907, (p. 260), published in English but written by Japanese, says: "It is a significant fact that by far the greater part of private charity work of any large scope is conducted by Christians, both natives and aliens, and that the

that a missionary suggested to the Government methods that it afterwards adopted for prison reform, and that another was the chief instrument in bringing about such a change in laws as has weakened the hold of licensed vice upon its victims. In general it may be said that all movements for moral reform look to the Christians as their natural leaders. Not least in the helpful influences coming to the nation have been those due to the examples of noble, educated, Christian womanhood. The homes of the Protestant missionaries and of other persons that in a foreign land have remained true to the ideals of those from which they came, and also the homes, gradually growing more numerous, that have been established by Japanese believers, have made the very name "Christian home" to be widely known as that of the social institution most needed for the moral purification of the land. The influence that Christianity has had on public morals, social customs, the care of the sick, laws, journalism, general literature, music, and even on the very language of the people has been great and beneficial. Christianity is a living force entering into the spiritual nature of men, and what touches the spirit must sooner or later affect all outward acts.

History's proper domain is the past, but no sooner do we turn from her to look upon what now exists than she tears it from our grasp and claims it for her own. While words are being penned and ere they issue from the press, what they describe in the present tense have become things of the past. Nor will history permit us to say that she has no concern with the future, for she knows the time will come when that also will be hers. Moreover, the future is the fruitage of what was sown in the past, and as the farmer when he planted his fields had thoughts of what he will hereafter

part played by Buddhists in this direction is shamefully out of proportion. As to Shintoists, they are privileged, in popular estimate, to keep aloof from matters of this kind." In February, 1909, after a thorough examination of all charities in the country, gifts were made by the Japanese Government to seventy-nine philanthropic institutions. A large number of these were under Protestant or Roman Catholic auspices.

reap, so history sometimes looks forward and from the experiences of the past ventures to prophesy what the future record will contain.

The time at which this history is being written sees Christianity a recognised force in Japan. The statistics to be given in an appendix will show what can be told by figures; yet every one who has had occasion to examine such tables carefully knows how imperfect a guide they are to actual conditions. In one way they may give too favourable an impression, for lists of church-members often include those that are Christians only in name, and it may be true that some of the churches themselves have so little real life that it would be better to have them struck from the denominational rolls. On the other hand, such statistics fall far short of showing the position to which Christianity has attained. There are outside of the churches, many persons who in their hearts believe the essential doctrines of Christianity and are trying to regulate their lives thereby. Moreover, as has already been said, Christianity is in thousands of ways touching Japanese life, thus accomplishing what cannot be statistically reported and what often fails to be recognised as among its effects.

Quality is certainly of much more importance than quantity in deciding how much has already been accomplished and what are the prospects for the future. A person who examines a work from the outside can be more unprejudiced than one closely associated with it, and so may be able to see more clearly both its excellencies and its defects. Hence, the opinion of a sympathetic but keen observer of Protestant Christianity in Japan may be advantageously quoted at this point. Rev. George S. Eddy, well known as a worker in India for the Young Men's Christian Association, wrote as follows, after a visit to Japan:

"Our impressions of the characteristics of Japanese Christianity, including its virtues and its faults, include:

"(1) *Strong independence* with a readiness of the Christians to stand upon their own feet, to bear responsibility, to undertake leadership, and to be unwilling to accept foreign aid a moment

longer than is necessary, though receiving everything that can be learned from foreign countries.

"(2) *Self-support* and the willingness to pay the price of independence. In this respect India has much to learn from Japan.

"(3) *Strength of character* and the ability of believers to think and act for themselves.

"(4) *A too liberal theology* with a tendency to take up with every new doctrine, a fondness for rationalistic thought, and a lack of stability in theological thinking, and consequently a lack of deep spirituality.

"(5) *Conservatism* in method and a lack of a sufficient sense of evangelistic responsibility. In fact, Japanese have been so taken up with the problem of self-government and self-support that they do not seem, as yet, to have given the prominence they should to the thought of the evangelisation of Japan. In this respect, however, they will soon advance rapidly.

"(6) *The high social position,* education, and, as compared with India, the wealth of the Christian community, and its failure to extend sufficiently its operation to the masses and the lower classes.

"(7) *Unity,* with an emphasis on practical issues, and an unwillingness to perpetuate the divisions and discussions of the historic Christianity of the West. The Japanese are insisting upon and largely effecting a union of various groups of churches, and are looking toward ultimate union in Japan."*

What, then, of the future? That form of the Japanese verb to which Europeans have given the name "Future tense" expresses in reality nothing more than probability, and however sure a person may be of the ultimate victory of Christianity, he may well hesitate about stating too positively when and how this is to be brought about. There have, indeed, been some writers who declared that Japan will never become a Christian nation; but at the present day he who makes such an assertion must be a bold prophet and one who has given little study to the trend of events. It may be that the outward form of Christianity in Japan will never be like what is to be seen in England, America, France, or Russia; but what the past fifty years have seen accomplished ought to make even a person who does not recognise God's hand in history acknowledge a strong probability that ere many more decades pass

* *Missionary Review,* September, 1907. For the sake of clearness I have taken the liberty of making some merely verbal changes.

away there will be a Christian Japan. What peculiarities of church government, philosophical dogma, and practical activities will prevail cannot be foretold except as some persons may be sufficiently wise to predict certain features from the past history and present characteristics of the churches. These churches must meet and solve problems such as have come to those of other lands, and also some peculiar to themselves. Difficulties and dangers lie before them. It may be that at times the Kingdom of God will seem to be making no progress and even to be losing ground; but those who have faith in God cannot doubt its final establishment in Japan, and they rejoice in the thought of how much this will mean for the regeneration of Asia, and for the hastening of the time when the whole world shall know and serve the living God.

APPENDIX

A

LIST OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

The Protestant missionaries now in Japan include representatives of the following societies and churches. The dates show the time of beginning work.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions....1869
American Baptist Missionary Union.....1872
American Bible Society.....1876
American Christian Convention.....1887
Apostolic Light.....1907
British and Foreign Bible Society.....1881
Church Missionary Society †.....1869
Churches of Christ (Disciples).....1883
Christian and Missionary Alliance.....1891
Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America.....1898
Evangelical Association.....1876
Evangelical Lutheran Church, United Synod, South (U. S. A.).....1892
Finnish Lutheran Gospel Association.....1905
Free Methodist Church.....1903
German Evangelical Missionary Society.....1885
Hephzibah Faith Mission.....1895
Japan Book and Tract Society.....
Japan Evangelistic Band.....
Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada †..1889
Methodist Church of Canada.....1873
Methodist Episcopal Church ‡.....1873
Methodist Episcopal Church, South ‡.....1886
Methodist Protestant Church.....1889
National Bible Society of Scotland.....1875
Oriental Missionary Society.....1901
Presbyterian Church in the United States (North) *.....1859
Presbyterian Church of the United States (South) *.....1885
Protestant Episcopal Church, U. S. A.†.....1859
Reformed Church in America (Dutch) *.....1859
Reformed Church in the United States (German) *.....1879
St. Andrew's Tokyo Mission †.....
St. Hilda's Mission †.....1887
Salvation Army.....1895
Scandinavian Japan Alliance.....1891

Seventh Day Adventists	1897
Society for Promoting Female Education †	1877
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel †	1873
Society of Friends	1885
Southern Baptist Convention	1889
United Brethren in Christ	1895
Universalist Mission	1890
Woman's Union Missionary Society *	1871
World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union	1888
Young Men's Christian Association, International Committee	1889
Young Women's Christian Association, World's Committee	1900

The missions marked * co operate with the Nihon Kirisuto Kyokwai (Presbyterian); those marked † with the Nihon Seikokwai (Episcopalian); and those marked ‡ with the Japan Methodist Church. Churches formed in connection with some of the other missions combine in such a way that each group practically forms a united church.

B

STATISTICS

The latest available statistics of the missions and churches are those for 1907 as given in the Sixth Annual Issue of the Christian Movement in Japan (Tokyo, 1908). The following table is based upon one found in that book. Only the most important items are given here, as the reports of some missions upon the other matters are so incomplete as to render the statistics unsatisfactory. The absence of figures does not necessarily mean that the mission in question has nothing under the heading; but in some cases shows only a failure to report. The statistics for the Roman Catholics differ somewhat from those given in the volume on Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Missions, the latter being those for 1908.

Besides what is reported in the table, there are two independent churches; one having about 300 members and the other 160.

The numbers of missionaries given in connection with the Japan Methodist Church, the Nihon Kirisuto Kyokwai, and the Nihon Seikokwai are those of persons belonging to the missions that co-operate with those churches.

	Married Missionaries (Men)	Unmarried Missionaries (Men)	Unmarried Missionaries (Women)	Japanese Ordained Ministers	Japanese Unordained Ministers and Helpers	Japanese Bible Women	Communicants or Full Members	Members, Including Baptised Children, Probationers, etc.	Adult Baptisms in Year	Organised Churches
American Board and Kumiai Churches ..	23	1	29	79	47	16	14,597	15,628	2,304	89
American Bapt. Missionary Union ..	23	1	19	14	36	30	2,608	2,608	389	31
Southern Bapt. Convention	9	..	..	4	7	..	339	339	60	7
American Christian Convention	4	..	1	6	5	6	630	630	100	10
Bible Societies ..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Churches of Christ ..	9	..	8	21	10	8	1,647	1,647	247	22
Christian and Missionary Alliance ..	2	..	4	1	5	5	132	132	38	2
Evangelical Assoc. ..	2	..	3	16	9	12	888	888	90	18
Free Methodist ..	5	..	1	1	15	5	377	413	122	2
German Evangelical Mission	3	..	..	4	4	3	214	250	14	4
Hephzibah Faith Mission	1	..	3	..	6	3	..	..	24	..
Japan Book and Tract Society	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
Evangelical Lutheran	3	2	..	3	3	1	200	210	17	4
Finnish Lutheran ..	3	..	3	..	1	1	18	19	7	1
Japan Meth. Church	49	1	71	112	73	16	11,161	14,402	1,654	85
Meth. Prot. Church ..	5	..	5	10	8	8	883	1,037	151	9
Nihon Kirisuto Kyokwai (Presbyterian)	56	2	58	100	64	..	16,287	18,140	2,127	72
Nihon Seikokwai (Episcopalian) ..	53	28	94	72	141	70	7,086	14,368	1,024	..
Oriental Mis. Soc. ..	3	1	1	5	31	12	..	..	..	..
Salvation Army ..	8	1	9	..	117	..	..	..	..	29
Seventh Day Adventists	5	..	3	2	10	..	110	134	30	4
Society of Friends ..	3	..	3	..	6	4	48	942	86*a*	..
Scandinavian Japan Alliance	3	..	2	5	4	2	..	362	43	4
United Brethren ..	3	..	..	8	7	5	382	411	71	12
Universalist Mis. ..	1	..	1	6	..	1	223	253	25	5
Y. M. C. A.	5	20*b*	1	..	11*c*	..	..	..	..	..
Y. W. C. A.	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Apostolic Faith ..	4	..	3	..	6	..	..	25	..	..
W. C. T. U.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total Protestants ..	289	57	326	469	629	208	57,830	72,838	8,623	410
Roman Catholics ..	..	124	..	33	303	..	..	61,095	1,551	..
Greek Orthodox Church	..	1	..	37	129	..	..	30,166	*d*	..

a. Admitted to Christian fellowship on confession of faith. There seems to be some mistake in the figures given for full membership.

b. Teachers in government schools, secured under Y. M. C. A. auspices.

c. Japanese secretaries.

d. The total baptisms of adults and infants were 838.

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